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DEMOCRACY AND THE CURRICULUM

The Life and Program
of the American School

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THE JOHN DEWEY SOCIETY

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THIRD YEARBOOK OF THE JOHN DEWEY SOCIETY

DEMOCRACY AND THE CURRICULUM

The Life and Program of the American School

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FOREWORD STUDYING THE AMERICAN PROBLEM

We present *Democracy and the Curriculum: The Life and Program of the American School* as a guide for teachers, youth, and their parents in the study of The American Problem. By "The American Problem" we mean, to quote from the book itself *to bring forth on this continent—in some form of co-operative commonwealth—the civilization of economic abundance, democratic behavior, and integrity of expression which is now potentially available*. These three obvious phases taken together really constitute the one problem confronting our people, hence we so name it and devote our book to the study of how education can help to solve it.

The book documents the potentiality now present in America—in natural resources and technology, in democratic climate and tradition, in creative capacity. It establishes the lag of our capacity to distribute goods—because of ineffectiveness of government and other forms of social design—behind our capacity to produce them. The result, it shows, is that our contemporary America falls so far short of the great culture it could become that we name it *A Depressed Society*. This term is chosen in the deliberate endeavor to center attention on the shocking conditions and problems which have swept up on our people and now threaten to engulf them.

These conditions were to be expected, they are the inevitable manifestation of a period of transition between the first and second stages of the development of industrial-democratic society. Sooner or later the accelerating expansion of the First Day of industrialism was due to slow down. The World War

probably slowed it down more than its own momentum would have done. But because of the nature of great social trends a period of transition was bound to come, and come it has. Around the earth, wherever industrialism has penetrated, our times are marked by stalled economic systems, frustrated democracy, the breakdown of ancient loyalties, and a psychological climate of bewilderment and drift. We believe educators and statesmen will be better armed for the gigantic task of education and social reconstruction if they understand that these are the inevitable aftermath of more than a century of undesigned and unrestricted exploitation of the lands and of the peoples of the earth.

The concept—"The American Problem"—has been used especially because it defines clearly what would otherwise be merely a terrifying impasse. The social machinery of American life is badly jammed; the first step in disentangling it is to see clearly the factors that have created the problem. They are these

- the lag of some parts of the culture behind others—notably that of the capacity to distribute goods behind the capacity to produce them.
- the undue control over wealth, communication and government by a minority of the people whose philosophy of relatively uncontrolled individualism and whose entrenched position tends to make them unwilling to introduce much needed changes in the social system.
- the nationwide commitment of the people to that unique form of life called "American" democracy—the crux of which is freedom of utterance and maximum development for each individual, its form of government, therefore, one which aims at a society as devoid as possible of social "classes."
- the parallel nationwide conviction that the free play of intelligence among the people should determine social policies.
- the failure of mass education really to practise the democratic method and to build a program of study and discussion of the conditions and problems of life as it is actually lived today.
- the lack of real understanding of The American Problem by the people and their corresponding susceptibility to the propaganda of

- demagogues (this, in spite of the magnificent initial achievement in building the structure of universal elementary education)
- the widespread apathy of the people to matters of public concern and the inertia of intelligent and protected liberals who are the potential leaders of an informed thinking citizenry.
- the powerful appeal of such symptoms of the social impasse as mass suffering (caused by unemployment, poverty, and disease) and the tendency of political leaders to be content with treating them merely superficially instead of eliminating causes
- the fact that government in our democracy is carried on by the interplay of "interest groups," each citizen belonging to a number of them. Each group strives to get something by exerting pressure through threats, promises, and argument, using in whatever way it can the prestige of its numbers, its wealth, and its power. Officials of government resist or acquiesce in the demands made in terms of the relative pressures applied, create legislation and promote executive and judicial action accordingly. Policy-making thus lacks the dispatch and efficiency of the dictator, but, in the long run, represents the will of the people
- the danger that the people will believe the propaganda of the demagogues of the press, radio, and platform who offer the easy way of unthinkingly following the dictator rather than endure the hard, democratic way of study, thought, discussion, and group decision and action.
- the complex interdependence of society, fusing all of these factors into one social organism—each factor a function of others, no one working separately or open to separate attack. Thus all factors must be dealt with together at the same moment and without interrupting or interfering with any considerable part of the social order
- the menace of lack of time

These are twelve critical factors in the current impasse. It is doubtful if *The American Problem* can be understood or solved if any of them is left out of consideration. But the enumeration of them does more than define them, in addition it reveals the amazing complexity of the society which our people have produced. Hence the problem is difficult, staggeringly so, yet it *can* be solved—if thinking Americans can be jolted out of their apathy and inertia into doing something funda-

mental and vigorous about it. To help citizens generally, and especially teachers, to make their constructive contribution is the object of this book.

THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM

But whatever is done must be done quickly; fundamentally in the spirit of scientific understanding yes—but with great vigor and dispatch. The chief menace is lack of time. Democracy tends to move slowly, but delay of action now may well prove to be disastrous. One of the great battles of mankind is being fought out on the earth today. It is nothing less than a worldwide struggle between democracy and dictatorship. One or the other of these two ways of life must die, they cannot collaborate in an interdependent world. Which type of control over men will win out in the twentieth century? Shall it be dictatorial control imposed on the individual by the master class in the totalitarian state, or shall it be democratic control imposed by free men upon themselves? For a thousand years an increasing number of western men have said the latter. Since the World War several skirmishes in this cultural warfare have already been fought, and in every case the dreaded offensive launched by the dictator has defeated and disgraced the banner of democracy. But democracy has not been defeated by superior strength, instead it has been deserted by its own false leaders, typified best by the Tory imperialistic government and ruling classes of Great Britain.

Even as we write, Fascism under the leadership of Hitler and Pan-Germanic Nazism is making a shrill bid for world conquest. We see it imposing on all of Europe a program of force and fear and hate—forced labor, forced obedience, forced silence, forced allegiance, forced suffrage. It stamps on civil and political liberties, destroys the suffrage, invades the privacy of homes, it exiles, kidnaps, imprisons, tortures, murders—all in the name of a philosophy of government which denies every

loyalty to which Americans subscribe. Unless stopped soon the new barbarism may set back the gains of a thousand-year-long march toward democracy.

We have written our book in the conviction that only an understanding of the long time-line of government of western peoples will clarify the educator's study of this current struggle over democracy. The thousand-year-long main line of slow but sure advance of democracy will stand out prominently, interrupted from time to time by sidetracks of dictatorship. Furthermore a study of the rise of industrial-democratic society will convince him that the attempts to democratize the governments of central Europe at the close of the World War were premature and resulted naturally in the recurrence of dictatorship.

The argument proceeds like this. Democratic government is government by the consent of the people and true consent can be given only by people who understand their conditions and their problems. The fact is that in no European country—not even in Britain—have the people generally ever really practised democratic government. Indeed they could not for, on the one hand, they have always had a "class" society and, on the other hand, no more than 2 or 3 per cent among them have ever really understood their social problems. It is true that they built systems of universal elementary education and made a half-billion human beings literate, it is true that they established constitutional guarantees of civil and political liberty and the machinery of the suffrage. But the people never actually practised democracy because they never gave intelligent consent. At the close of the World War they were not ready for democracy—yet the collapse of monarchies and the chaos of conditions forced the experiment upon them. They failed because it came much too soon (witness the heroic but futile attempt of the Weimar government of Germany!), the rise of the dictator to power was the aftermath.

This book has been written therefore in the conviction that the current manifestation of dictatorial government is an inevitable interregnum brought about by the lag of social invention behind productivity. The sheer fact is that the producing frankenstein—industrialism—has gotten out of hand and the general level of social intelligence has not kept pace with the problems of an interdependent society.

When the interregnum will be obliterated and social trend will move back onto the main line of creative advancement of humanity no one can predict. Certainly through the instantaneous worldwide reporting in the press and radio of the debauching of men, women, and children by the fascist ghouls of hate and force, hundreds of millions of people are being taught by implication day by day the superiorities of the democratic way of life. But when that combination of circumstances will come about that will set central and western Europe once more on the main road of democracy no one can foretell.

In the meantime Europe is being made solidly fascist, even now the free play of intelligence is almost non-existent there. All of Asia may soon be in the control of totalitarian states. Latin and Indo-America have lived under dictatorships for the better part of four centuries. In fact, only isolated islands of real democracy remain on the earth today. Nevertheless, the chances for perpetuating democracy are greater in our America than anywhere else on the earth. They are? Yes, *if* we are vigilant, more than ever before, the ancient saying applies to us today—eternal vigilance is indeed the price of liberty.

GOVERNMENT IN A DEMOCRACY IS EDUCATION

Finally, this book has been written in the conviction that government can be democratic only when it is based on the consent of the people—and consent is given only when the people understand. This conception makes government in a

democratic society synonymous with education. As I have said in another place, government is social education—young and old citizens studying, thinking, discussing, initiating legislation, scrutinizing and reviewing acts of representatives, recalling them from office, ousting ineffective governments and installing new ones. But if the democratic process is to be anything more than the will o'-the-wisp-like political fluctuation of a blind and credulous people, the process must take on the very nature of *education*.

HAROLD RUGG

A NOTE ON THE WRITING OF THIS BOOK

This book is the product of cooperative effort. Its nineteen chapters were written by ten authors, but the writing was done on outlines prepared jointly after prolonged exchange of views. Seven or more of the authors met together in four two-day meetings between the spring of 1936 and the autumn of 1938, in addition the chairman had several one-day meetings with the New York City members of the group. Thus, the group designed together the purposes, the content, and the general form of the book. With a few exceptions, the first two drafts of the chapters of the book were read by all the members of the Committee, in the case of three chapters the reading and criticism was done by New York City members.

Authorship for the chapters of the book is as follows:

Chapters I-IV, VIII, and XIX	Mr. Rugg
Chapters V, XII, and XVI	Mrs. Zachry
Chapter VI	Mr. Harris
Chapter VII	Mr. Counts
Chapter IX	Mr. Hopkins
Chapter X	Various leaders in the Progressive Education Association
Chapters XI and XIII	Mr. Kilpatrick
Chapter XIV	Mr. Hanna
Chapters XV and XVII	Mr. Cisswell
Chapter XVIII	Mr. Hanna and Mr. Leonard

Although individual authorship is thus assigned to each chapter, it is fair to say that the book as a whole is a joint statement of position. While there are minor differences among the authors in theory and practice they see eye-to-eye on the crucial issues of our times. This comparative unanimity is the product of many years of cooperative study of the problems of education and the culture. In fact three members of this Committee—Messrs. Rugg, Kilpatrick, and Countess—have worked together on such problems since 1924–26 when they collaborated in the preparation of *Foundations of Curriculum-Making*, the *Twenty-Seventh Yearbook* of the National Society for the Study of Education.

Courtesies rendered by publishing houses are acknowledged at appropriate places throughout the book. The Committee on the Study of Adolescents of the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum of the Progressive Education Association made them most helpful to the Yearbook Committee. Special appreciation is due to Margaret Leach, editor, Committee on the Study of Adolescents, for assistance in the preparation of Chapters V, XII, and XVI.

The chairman also wishes to acknowledge particularly the assistance of Miss Ruth LaVoy in the editing of the entire book.

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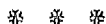
Part I

*THE SOCIAL ORDER AND
THE SCHOOL*

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Chapter I

THE CULTURE AND THE CURRICULUM¹



TWO IDEAS TO GUIDE OUR STUDY

This is a book on the curriculum of the American school. We shall use the term *curriculum*, awkward and academic though it is, because custom has fastened it upon us. We use it, however, in the inclusive sense of the sub-title of our book, that is—"The Life and Program of the American School." We conceive the school to be an enterprise in living, hence what was narrowly and forbiddingly called in the old education "the curriculum" becomes in the new education "the life of the school." Every aspect of a truly vital education partakes of life itself, the school becomes a school of living . . . learning is seen as living through novel situations . . . the curriculum becomes the very stream of dynamic activities that constitute the life of the young people and their elders. Thus the new school is a social enterprise in living.

But—it is more than that, it is an enterprise in *guided* living. Guidance of immature learners by more mature teachers is the distinctive mark of an *educational* enterprise. The life of any social group can be said to be an enterprise in living, but for most groups the living is not consciously guided to produce desirable kinds of growth. It is the anticipation of desirable kinds of growth and conscious guidance to produce them.

¹ This chapter was written by Harold Rugg.

that distinguishes the school from any other social enterprise.

One brief word of caution concerning our use of the terms *guided* and *anticipated*.¹ Let it be said once and for all that we do *not* mean fixing in advance a pattern of knowledge, skill, and attitude to which we shall fit our young people. That is the goal and the method of the standardized education of the formal school and that we eschew.

On the contrary we do mean the sensitive *guided living* . . . the *anticipated living* of the young people. To *guide* the education of another person (perhaps the most subtle as well as the most crucial of all the vital professions) puts upon the educator the two-fold obligation: *first*, he must strive to be sensitive to that person's potentialities for day by day *growth in living*; *second*, he must be alert to bring within the learner's reach the best possible facilities for the growing. The *goal* the educator never for a moment forgets is the *changing, maturing, day-by-day living* that the young people give promise of achieving. Thus the educator strives to *anticipate* these promising kinds of better living and to make available effective facilities to aid the young people in achieving them.

Man's efforts to create have produced an inclusive concept that is alive with meaning to describe this total task of the educator. That concept is "design." To become a program in *guided living* education must be *designed*; certainly it must not be left to the casual circumstances of whim or chance. The educator will design the life and program of the school with the utmost care to give assurance that the day by day living will approach the potentiality for living that he feels in the young people. In this sense both the goal and the program of education are "designed,"—developed from an ever continuing appraisal of anticipated kinds of growth. In a very profound sense, then, the new education is a "design for living."

¹ The problem of "guidance" is discussed more fully in Chapter XV and that of "design" in Chapter XIV.

Throughout this book, therefore, two
concepts will focus thought and
feeling about the curriculum first
living; second, design.

THE CURRICULUM DESIGNED DIRECTLY FROM
THE TOTAL CULTURE

A designed school, then, we envisage—but designed from what materials? From the very life of the American children as they live with the rest of the American people—their contemporary doings, their deepseated current problems and issues and the social trends that have precipitated them. We dare not close our eyes to the actual characteristics of the society in which our young people are growing up. It must be remembered that the non-school aspects of the total culture mold our youths far more than does the school itself. Even in the best of our mass schools young people from the ages of six to eighteen are not exposed to the formative pressures of the school more than ten per cent of their total time. During nine-tenths of their youth they are subjected to the powerful stereotyping influences of family, neighborhood gangs, and other community influences. The examples and precepts of these forces have far greater potency in molding in youths the attitudes characteristic of the culture than have those of the school. We repeat, it is a prime obligation upon educators to-day to design the life and program of the new school directly from the life of the children and adults in the educational community.

There is a useful scientific term that gathers together all of the living of the people of a community, region, or nation. That term is *the culture*. We shall use it frequently in this book. Note its all-inclusive meaning:

First it embraces the external material civilization—the

ways and means by which a people produces and distributes its physical goods, buys and sells, communicates, and the like—and in short, its total economic system.

Second beneath the obvious physical civilization the culture embraces the social institutions of the people—the characteristic family life, the government, the industry and business, the other economic and other social organizations, the press, radio and other agencies of communication, the ritual of churches, lodges, schools, and colleges, the work of forums and other parliamentary and elective procedures, the ritual of courtesy in social life, codified food habits, ways of dress, speech, recreation, and the like. The social institutions include also the language of the people, their ways of measuring, recording, and expressing facts, their use of science and art—all of these used as subtle instruments of thinking and feeling.

Third even more directive and formulating than the external economic civilization and the social institutions is the “psychology” of the people. The social arrangements of a people are created primarily by their drives, their attitudes, their ideas. What they have in their heads, what they want most, what they fear most, determine what they do and what they are. Their desires dominate their social psychology. To name only a few examples, there are the desires for personal security, for a better living, for social approval. But the social psychology of a people also includes the all-pervasive “climate of opinion” of the wider community, molded by such directive concepts and attitudes as freedom, equality of opportunity, justice, patriotism, and the like.

There are, perhaps, other factors which play a determining part in making Americans what they are, but these illustrations of three phases—the external physical civilization, the social institutions, and the underlying psychology—explain sufficiently the sense in which we use the term *the culture*.

THE ACTIVITIES OF YOUNG PEOPLE ARE A
FOCAL PART OF THE CULTURE

An important caution should be stated in this connection. To say with emphasis that the curriculum must be made directly from the culture of the people does not mean that the curriculum-designer is to base his program on adult life. It must be said with equal emphasis that the doings of 40,000,000 young Americans constitute an extremely vital part of the culture. In fact, from the standpoint of the organization of the educational enterprise, they are the most important part. It is the problems which the children and youths confront at any particular time and the interests which grip them, that must constitute the nuclear activities of the curriculum. These problems and interests emerge, of course, from a wider social context that has been adult created and will continue to be adult-dominated. But the curriculum design must not fail to keep its perspective of the true rôle of children's and youths' problems and interests in such an adult controlled world.

THE CURRICULUM-DESIGNER, A STUDENT OF
HIS CULTURE*Its Current Characteristics and Problems*

From the dictum that the life and program of the new school must be designed from the culture, it follows directly that the curriculum-designer must become a thorough student of that culture. To build a stream of dynamic educative activities for young Americans, then, he must *know* his America—the modes of living of the people, their achievements and their deficiencies, their liabilities as well as their assets. He must *know* not only its material civilization but its base in

stitutions and its directive psychology. He must be dynamically aware of its crucial issues and problems. He must be sensitive to the values and ideals which the people hold, their taboos as well as their objects of allegiance. But to know all of this he must understand the psychological basis of their institutions, their unique outlook and tradition together with the mechanism they have constructed for carrying those out. Moreover, he must really understand the parent European culture that gave birth to American life and that is now rapidly proselytizing the peoples of the entire earth. In short, to be a competent curriculum-designer he must be a competent student of the new industrial culture.

There is no way by which the curriculum-designer can gain that competence except by rigorous and directed study of American culture itself. There is no royal road to social understanding. There is no easy way to build a good school. There is only the way of hard work, intensive study, thinking to the bottom of things. To carry this out will require that the curriculum-designer become a student of the new sociology and economics, of the new government, and of art as well as of the psychology and pedagogy of childhood and youth.

If it be objected that this is an absurdly large order, then it can only be replied that *there is no more crucial job in the entire gamut of community life than that of curriculum-designer for the new education.* The very job itself is absurdly large, obviously one can undertake competently only by a knowledge of vast scope and an insight of correspondingly great depth. Those educational workers who aspire to such distinguished leadership will find it necessary to buckle down to this task of rigorous study, difficult though it is.

Its History

Moreover it is becoming increasingly evident that a clear grasp of our contemporary problems cannot be built without

adequate historical knowledge. The harassing problems and issues of today were projected by the social trends of the preceding generations. The trends are themselves the cumulation of human events, having progressed slowly through many years. But it was human beings, behaving in certain ways, that brought them about.

Some examples? Take unemployment today. Millions of people are out of work in the "best of all possible worlds." Why? Because of the deeds of people and of the wants, ideas, and fears that impelled those deeds. No set of impersonal mechanical factors precipitated the vast unemployment since 1930, or of the fourteen other major "depressions" in a century of the business cycle. Social trends—movements in human history—did it. To understand the factors that brought it about we must see them forming through centuries of time. We must study history—the history of definite social trends.

Similarly with our other staggering social problems. Consider the current international sore-spots. No abstract, non-human or superhuman force brought about the vicious undeclared wars in Ethiopia or China, the impasse in central Europe, or the ruthless dictatorships all over the earth. People did it—people who were carrying out human purposes and thereby bringing to pass human events and movements.

So it is also with the positive achievements of, and opportunities in, our culture. We have today in North America a giant potential for producing a golden age of physical and creative life. No non-earthly, or supernatural force made it available. People did it—our "American" people, foregathering here from all over the earth. Human forces, gathering momentum through the centuries, have brought it to the verge of being. If this giant potential is to be transformed into actuality, only human beings will give it that fruition.

These human forces, then, must be understood, and that means the educator must study history—economic history,

political history, social history, racial history, psychological history. All the kinds of history that can be imagined, the strands organized in closest fusion—in short, the history of the culture.

Especially the History of Ideas

“Ideas rule the world or throw it into chaos.”

So said August Comte, the French sociologist, a hundred years ago. So have said other great thinkers. Looking back over Man’s history they have seen that underlying every great change in human ways of living is the discovery of new ideas. It was true in the Stone Age when Man first discovered fire and how to make it . . . metals and how to heat them . . . seeds and how to plant them. It was true in the river-valley civilizations when men discovered ideas and how to write them alphabetically . . . numbers and how to count them . . . power aids and how to use them.

It is equally true today. Ideas still rule the world or throw it into chaos. These revolutionary changes in ways of doing things in our modern industrial society were made possible by thinking. Back of modern transportation, for example, lay the idea of the wheel—that because friction is less, it is easier to roll something than to lift and carry it. Back of the modern blast furnace is the idea of using intense heat to smelt metals, the idea of the fusion of metals to make alloys—and other ideas. Back of such a complicated machine as a steam shovel is the idea of turning curvilinear muscular movements into a sequence of rectilinear movements which can be made mechanically and sequentially. In fact back of every modern way of living today is a whole series of ideas that have slowly been discovered and improved upon by thousands of thinking men during thousands of years.

In every change in ways of living “thinkers” got new ideas. With these new ideas inventors experimented and finally

made new inventions. These new inventions brought new ways of living. Thus every advance in ways of living for thousands of years has come about through these three steps:

1. New Ideas
2. New Inventions
3. New Ways of Living

To understand our American civilization and its complicated problems we must dig to their very intellectual roots—to the ideas that lie back of them. The best way to do that is to see the life-history of these ideas. Thus to see civilization changing we must see the changing ideas that transformed it from one form into another, for the ideas of one stage led to the discovery of the ideas that created and “ruled” the next. We must know the great ideas that have ruled the world of Americans, that may indeed be turning it into chaos.

We conclude, then, that the educator who is equipped with the deepest understanding of the foundational ideas of our culture will build and organize the best curriculum, use the most educative methods, plan the best budget, erect the best buildings—in short, carry on the most effective total program of education.

But again we say, there is no royal pathway to building a dynamic life and program of education. There is only the pathway of gruelling self-discipline, of work focused consciously on the contemporary issues that confront us and the historical movements that gave them birth.

In this book we shall practise our own preachment. We shall use selected strands of history to reveal the nature and the problems of our culture and hence of our educational task.

THE CURRICULUM-DESIGNER EQUALLY A STUDENT
OF PSYCHOLOGY

But the building of a sound program of education is as dependent upon the facts of individual personality as upon the content of the group culture. Important though our social heritage is, to base a curriculum on the group culture alone is not enough. Since education is primarily devoted to the development of Persons, the design of the curriculum must take cognizance of the facts of individual personality as well as of those of social institutions. Its content and the organization are as dependent upon them as upon modes of living and social movements and issues.

It is a stupendous task, indeed, that is laid upon the educator who designs the life and program of the school. Not only must he be sociologist and statesman, philosopher and educational technician, he must also be a competent student of individual physiology and psychology. Merely to catalog the names of the predominant traits that comprise the personality of an individual illustrates the great scope and complexity of the problem. There are traits of physique and of intelligence, traits of motor response and of temperament, traits of drive and of social participation. These individual traits are the very foundation of the social behavior that we call the culture. Thus they supply the curriculum-designer with basic content for his program at the same time that they determine its form.

IN THIS BOOK, THEREFORE, WE SHALL STUDY

—American culture, its distinctive characteristics and insistent problems . . . its merits and potential assets as well as its

actual liabilities, stresses and strains, and imminent dangers . . . all of these together with the great social movements that produced them.

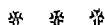
- Youth growing up in this actual American culture . . . molded and stamped by its pressures . . . thwarted by its economic and psychological impasses . . . encouraged and prodded forward by its creative forces
- The American school, set up in the first stage of industrial society . . . product of the initial hectic building of literacy schools for the education of all the children of all the people . . . admittedly a formal mechanism lacking dynamic functioning power.
- The creative resources of America for the reconstruction of American life on the one hand, the giant potential for the production of economic plenty for every man, woman, and child on the continent . . . on the other hand, the resources in the unique American democratic tradition and the emerging power in the American as creative artist and as creative student of the culture.
- The powerful instrument for building a new education given to us in the emergence of a new organic psychology and a correspondingly dynamic sociology.
- Promising efforts in curriculum development now in process under both public and private auspices
- The life and program of the potential school of the years immediately ahead of us

The whole study carried forward under the conviction that we are now confronted by a difficult and dangerous impasse, by novel problems of expression and of social control—

But heartened and guided by the conviction that, with the creative resources within our grasp, we can bring into existence on the North American continent a golden age of abundance . . . democratic behavior . . . and *integrity* of expression.

Chapter II

TRANSITIONAL AMERICA, A DEPRESSED SOCIETY¹



THE SPECIAL NATURE OF OUR TIMES

It is of the utmost importance that the curriculum-designer understand that his work must be done in an America which is caught in a period of bewildering social transition. Forty years have passed since John Dewey opened the Laboratory School and Francis W. Parker organized the School of Education at the University of Chicago. Those four decades have witnessed the most spectacular cultural change in the eight hundred years during which our new industrial democratic society has been forming. Near the turn into the twentieth century the American people had settled their continent, and had erected upon it the framework of the most powerful economic-social system in the world's history. Unknown to the ninety-and-nine among them they were even then whirling on at accelerating speed into the country's most bewildering period of social transition. This is the period in which we are living today. So diastic were the changes precipitated by the passage from the crude Machine Age of the nineteenth century to the efficient Power Age of today, and so crucial were the problems that emerged that it deserves the name "The Great Transition."

¹ This chapter was written by Harold Rugg

THREE SOCIAL TRENDS NOW CLEARLY DISCERNED

Out of the past forty transitional years three deep-running social trends have focused our educational problems sharply. The *first* is the unabated acceleration in the productiveness of machine-technology, this already promises the almost manless fabrication of quantity goods.

The *second* trend is the lagging and wavering course of social invention, particularly as applied to problems of government. The lag of social invention behind economic productivity reveals itself especially in the uncertainty of our people concerning the social control and social ownership of property. Certainly it is not clear how much more socialization than has already been achieved will be necessary to administer our high-powered industrial culture under a democratic government which still will leave policy-making to the people.

The *third* great social trend is revealed in the lagging advance of popular consent far behind either economic or social invention. This lag is already marked by spectacular success in making ninety-odd per cent of the people literate but also by the failure to give them even a modicum of understanding of the roots of our devastating social problems. The result is, as Dean Ackerman says, that we have not succeeded in building an adequate power of resistance to the "Black Plague" of authoritarian propaganda which is now "debasing the currency of thought."

Three social trends, then,

- the advancing trend of economic productivity
- the lagging trend of social invention
- the lagging trend of popular consent

have brought about the special problems of our times. *It is our hypothesis that our present complex interdependent system of industry, business, agriculture, and government can*

continue to be operated under the democratic method only when these three trends keep pace with one another We are equally convinced that that can take place only when our statesmen have designed and built adequate systems of social control over the economic system and educators have designed and built an adequate social intelligence in the bulk of the people.

Now it is a fact of the greatest importance that these three all-important trends have in forty years separated out one from another, by such vast gaps that they not only produced the critical social problems of today but they also made it possible for us to discern those problems clearly and with them the characteristics of each great trend. Thus today all students of education can see, and are obligated to study until they do see the characteristics and problems of our society that only a few creative pioneers on the frontiers of thought and feeling perceived forty years ago.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF IDEAS.

THREE FRONTIERS OF STUDY FOR CREATIVE WORKERS

We can perceive the culture-traits and problems which confront us today not only because the social trends have widened sufficiently to let us do so, but primarily because, even in the midst of the din of expansion and the bewilderment of transition, several brigades of creative workers have given us a clear picture of them.

With the obliteration of the geographic frontier and the completion of the first hectic period of physical expansion more and more of the country's potential creative workers turned to social analysis of the culture and to the esthetic portrayal of it. For forty years, given a head start by the pioneering of a few great mutants in the middle nineteenth century, a growing company of these creative workers has

succeeded in painting a more and more honest, indigenous, and organic portrait of the Americans and of our America. Step by step they freed themselves from the eclecticism and prettinesses of the Victorian genteel tradition in art and letters, they turned their backs on the "conjectural history" and "uncritical natural law" of the classical historians and economists *Thus the whole growing company—poets, sociologists, psychologists—steadily advanced in stating life as it was really lived in America*

On three frontiers of thought and feeling they have carried on their cultural warfare for the building of a sound foundation for social reconstruction.

First, on the frontier of scientific study of our culture.

Second, on the frontier of creative art.

Third, on the educational frontier.

On three frontiers, I say. Now it is the thesis of my colleagues and myself that the third of these—our own educational frontier—can be successfully explored only with the concepts and outlooks built by the creative workers on the first two—that is, by the concepts of the students of the scientific and esthetic study of American culture.

As we have said in Chapter I, it is the biography of ideas—the life history of concepts and attitudes—that supplies us with the outline of the new materials for the life and program of the school.

WE BEGIN WITH THE ECONOMIC CRUX OF OUR PRESENT SOCIAL SITUATION

Let us begin our analysis with the most obvious of the basic conditions which impinge upon our young people—that is, the state of occupational employment in the nation. At the root of most of our troubles today lies the impasse in eco-

nomic life that is revealed by widespread idleness and poverty in the midst of potential plenty. To understand the problem of developing an adequate educational program we must grasp clearly the chief economic conditions in the midst of which our youths are growing up. It is indeed these economic conditions that bring about the psychological stresses and strains of family life that are affecting our young people so dangerously. We feel it imperative, therefore, to state as clearly as possible the characteristics of our economic and political society today.

AMERICA IN OUR TIMES—A DEPRESSED SOCIETY

The hypothesis ¹ that my colleagues and I now hold is that our whole social order has begun to reveal the characteristics of a "depressed" society, rather than those of an efficient society temporarily passing through one of the fourteen major recurring depressions in a century of economic history.

By a "depressed society" we mean *first*, a society in which the actual distribution of purchasing power to the people generally falls far short of the potential capacity of the social system to produce, *second*, a society in which the purchasing power delivered to the people by private auspices is insufficient to buy the goods necessary to keep the system running efficiently, *third*, a society with vast potential creative human resources, most of which are not being discovered or developed, *fourth*, a society, the recent history of which gives no sign that its prolonged state of depression is being relieved.

The evidence which has led us to draw the hypothesis that the new education must be developed in a definitely depressed

¹ Stated and documented more fully in such sources as a series of articles in *Scholastic* for February 12, February 26, and March 12, 1938 (1) "Recession—From What? 11,000,000 Unemployed—Prosperity, Fact or Myth", (2) "The Roosevelt Government and the Great Depression, a Five Year Appraisal, 1933-1938", (3) "The Roosevelt Government and Social Reconstruction, Tinkering vs. Statecraft."

society, abounds on every side. First and foremost there is the evidence of unabated unemployment. These pages are being penned, for example, in the 108th month of the so-called "great depression" that began in October, 1929. All of the evidence points to the fact that *we have never recovered from that depression*, that nine years after the stock market crash of 1929, 14,000,000 people¹—about one-fourth of America's workers—are wholly unemployed and several millions more are working only "part time." This—in a land of gigantic potentialities of keeping them at work, in a land which produces or possesses two-fifths of the world's iron and steel, one-third of its coal, three-fourths of its motor cars, three-fourths of its oil, two-fifths of its cotton. This—in a land which, according to the board of engineers that made The National Survey of Potential Product Capacity, now has an annual productive capacity which could provide every family in America with goods to the value of \$4500—and that merely by running the economic system as it stood in 1929. But this also was in the land which in 1935 actually gave fifty per cent of American families less than \$1070 a year, and today (1938) gives one-third of them the starvation standard of less than \$780.²

It is this vast gap between the magnificent capacity to produce a high standard of living and the niggardly one which is actually distributed to the people that gives rise to the conviction that in this present stage of industrialism our social order is and, for many years to come, will continue to be a continuously depressed society.

Thus, predictions concerning the trend toward accelerating unemployment, which we of the fellowship of the John

¹ See *Scholastic* articles referred to. Our figures are based on the findings of the Federal Unemployment Census of November, 1937, with corrections from various estimates concerning those who have lost their jobs since that time.

² Report of National Resources Committee published September, 1938.

Dewey Society, in company with renowned engineers, made in 1932-1933, have been more than confirmed. It was stated then by such careful students as Mr. Bassett Jones—and with specific documentation—that when factories would once more be operated at the 1929 level more than 6,000,000 workers would remain unemployed. We know now that in the spring of 1937 the nation's economic system *was* producing practically as much goods as in 1929—the index numbers measuring production deviating by only two points—but that at that moment there were not less than 8,000,000 people out of work.

But we do not depend on that evidence alone, convincing though it is. Staring us in the face are other facts as devastating as those of an army of unemployed (many signs suggest that they are becoming an army of permanently unemployables). There are the facts, for example, of the continual positive acceleration in the man-hour curves of worker-productivity and in the curves of worker displacement. There are the facts of the failure of a large program of "made work" and of relief at public expense to take up this slack of technological unemployment. All of these alterations in the economic system are brought conspicuously to public attention by the enormous increase in the public debt. We have never stopped pouring public monies into relief to serve as purchasing power for millions of helpless people, and for an increasing army of public servants of which those in WPA enterprises are sufficient examples. Instead of being able to begin paying off that debt we have increased it by leaps and bounds. The 1930 total of \$16,000,000,000 had become \$38,000,000,000 in 1938 and, it is estimated by the Roosevelt government, will be \$41,000,000,000 in 1940.

Thus in spite of herculean efforts by the national government to prime the pump of the privately owned economic system little progress has been made toward discovering how

to manage the increasing efficiency of production and at the same time to keep the entire labor personnel steadily at work under private auspices. Little if any evidence has been offered by private industry since 1929 that it can be done. At any rate it is certain that *at no time since 1930—and we think, never in our entire national history—has this economic system been able to deliver to the American people sufficient purchasing power to buy the goods that could be produced and that are needed to give them an adequate diet standard of living.* This is, perhaps, the most important single economic fact now confronting our people.

These, then, are brief examples of the kinds of evidence from which we have built up our hypothesis that our society is not now a prosperous and efficient one merely passing through another "depression", that it is, on the contrary, actually an inefficient and depressed one which faces the prospect of continuing to be depressed for years to come.

Whether or not the readers of this book agree with the authors' hypothesis, one fact must be accepted by all: these are years of frightening transition, when every phase of our social scene is changing swiftly. On all sides we witness the signs of a widespread impasse, the stalling of the economic system and the mental and moral disintegration of millions of people. In the midst of potential social plenty, on the very verge of a golden age of productiveness and fine living, the whole culture stands stalled, adrift. We are a people distraught, uncertain of our powers, bewildered concerning optional pathways toward tomorrow.

INDUSTRIAL-DEMOCRATIC CULTURE IS
ENTERING A NEW STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT

It is the conviction of this Committee that industrial peoples are today in this baffled and generally depressed condition

because, without being aware of it and hence without being prepared for it, they have been moving for nearly a half-century into a new stage of industrial history. It is a stage in which many of the fundamental social arrangements and the problems of the social order are sharply different from those of the preceding decades. Hence it is a period in which the public mind must be made up of new concepts and a new orientation if our people are to grasp the problems and invent solutions for them.

Premotions in the 1890's of the New Epoch

This conclusion is so much the foundation of our work that we shall give some illustrative and supporting documentation. Since the 1890's and with increasing speed since the beginning of the World War, industrial peoples generally and the American people particularly, have been moving out of the period of the initial hectic exploitation of virgin continents. That period can be said to have begun two hundred to three hundred years ago and is now spoken of by students as: The First Industrial Revolution . . . or, The Machine Age . . . or, The Great Expansion of Europe. The second current stage of industrialism was ushered in after 1890 by several startling social changes; hence it has now been under way for perhaps four decades.

We enumerate, without supporting documentation, ten conspicuous events of the past forty years which stand as witnesses to the passing of the first stage of industrial-democratic society.

- I. *Revolutionary Inventions*. Their use in a perfected machine-technology which, when compared with the wastefulness of the Machine Age, reveals great efficiency in external civilization, for example
 1. The first efficient hydroelectric generators and long-distance transmission of power from central stations.

2. The motor car and the airplane: the first practicable application of the internal combustion engine in the efficient self-propulsion of vehicles.
 3. The first invention and practicable development of the wireless telegraph, telephone, radio, and kinetoscopic camera.
 4. The perfection of the processes and the first large-scale production of new alloys other than steel.
 5. The practicable development of the photo-electric eye and related processes.
- II. *The Corporate Mass Production of Goods* Completion of the building of great vertical and integrated corporations producing standardized goods in increasingly automatic and hence man-less straight-line production plants . . . corresponding sharp increase in the displacement of skilled craftsmen and unskilled workers . . . reduction of the old-age deadline of sixty-five to the middle-age deadline of forty . . . related phenomena.
- III. *The Passing of the Last Frontier* The completion of the pre-emption and settlement of the "free land" of the earth formerly held by so-called "backward" peoples and taken from them by violent conquest . . . hence the disappearance of the last geographical frontier and of the last resource for personal rehabilitation of the displaced worker.
- IV. *A Drastic Change in Immigration*. From northern and western Europe to southern and eastern Europe . . . the bulk of it settling in the industrial cities of the "new" countries.
- V. *From Dynamic to Static Population*. Sharp changes in the growth of the population in each industrial country . . . the curves pass points of inflection, rates of acceleration in growth change from positive to negative . . . prediction of static population by the middle of twentieth century.
- VI. *Growth of Cities* Startling concentration of populations in cities with increasing displacement of farm and craft labor . . . increasing anonymity and unresponsibility of personal and social life.
- VII. *Changes in Family Life* Decline in the size of family and in its rôle as the chief cornerstone of the national culture.
- VIII. *System of Literacy Schools Completed*. Completion of formal reading-writing-arithmetic schools in each of the major

industrial countries with ninety-odd per cent of their people becoming literate

- IX. *The Suffrage for All* Completion of the seven hundred year advance in the building of the machinery of democratic government, by the inclusion of all adults irrespective of sex, property ownership, religious affiliation, and the like in eligibility for the suffrage and office-holding
- X. *World Wars* The first of what promises to be a series of World Wars, due to such factors as world-wide interdependence of production and distribution, enormous increase in rivalry for raw materials and markets, places of investment, competition in armament building, secret military alliances, and corresponding propagation of hatred among national populations . . . devastating consequences in dislocation of economic world arrangements

These ten examples of diastic change which have been laid bare by the creative students on the social frontier will illustrate sufficiently our reasons for emphasizing the transitional nature of our times. But most important of all—these trends have advanced far enough to enable us to locate our transitional years in the long time-line of industrialism and democracy and to see the relation of our domestic problems to those of an interdependent world order.

OUR TIMES ON THE TIME-LINE OF INDUSTRIAL-DEMOCRATIC CULTURE

First, let us note the chronological location of our transitional years in history. In the studies reported in this book we shall interpret our times (1890's-) as the third of three periods into which some eight hundred years of western history can be divided. Although the total epoch since 1100 A.D. can be divided into many different ways, we have found the following three-fold division to have excellent documentation in the facts of social change.

- I *Before the Machine Age—1100 to 1600 A.D.* Some five hundred formative years in which national states, languages and literatures slowly formed, the rudiments of science and invention were achieved, the exploration of the physical earth was begun, and the individual man slowly began to discover and assert his personal powers and demand his rights.
- II. *The First Industrial-Democratic Revolution—the "Machine Age" and the Great Expansion of Europe 1600 to the 1890's*
The initial conquest and settlement of virgin continents and islands of the earth . . . rapid advance in mathematics, science, invention, and industrial technology . . . spectacular establishment of the civil and political rights of the individual marked especially by a bold pre-emption of the "free land" of the earth and the exploitation of natural resources by "rugged individualists," but with utter lack of plan or social control, thus, the framework of an efficient power-machine-production-system was built guaranteeing potential economic security . . . industrial peoples made literate by universal verbal elementary education.
- III *The Great Transition from the Machine Age into the Power Age, the 1890's—* Our own times . . . spectacular advance toward increasingly automatic and hence man-less production of standardized goods . . . enormous dislocation of skilled craft labor . . . corresponding corporate concentration of wealth and control of property in a few hands, the transition years marked, however, by the flowering of the creative act . . . the emergence of an important brigade of creative students on several frontiers of industrialism . . . then analysis of the social trends and portrayal of life as actually lived in our social order . . . Thus "Our Times" constitutes The Great Transition to the effort of reason and the adventure of beauty as well as to abundance and security.

We shall not take the space here to argue the merits of this particular scheme of chronology-division, nor to document our characterization of each period. The latter we shall do in Chapter III. We recognize that a case can be made for other schemes of chronology. But the question of meticulous time division is really not very important. The important

thing is that curriculum-designers shall frankly recognize that our America is passing through a transitional stage of development in which every phase of the culture must be—indeed is being—critically scrutinized and appraised

AMERICAN YOUTH STUDYING
"THE AMERICAN PROBLEM"

The important thing is that thirty-odd million American children and youth shall also be practised in such tolerant frank scrutiny and appraisal of our whole social system. America does not yet represent on the time-line of history "the best of all possible worlds." But she does have such vast potential resources that *she could produce in the next generation a golden age of abundance, democratic behavior, and integrity of expression. The ingredients of such a magnificent human culture are at hand. That idea must be made known to the American people.*

This, as we see it, is "the American problem" *to bring forth on this continent—in the form of a cooperative commonwealth—the civilization of abundance, democratic behavior, and integrity of expression and of beauty which is now potentially available.* To gather together the makings of the Great Society that are at hand, and to organize them into a going national concern that will produce economic abundance, democratic behavior, and creative expression—that is the problem of our times.

But—this must be done by the democratic method—by "the American way." Not only is a great society of abundance to be built—but it is to be a cooperative commonwealth. The American people will not tolerate social changes imposed by authoritarian oppressive measures, their whole tradition will protest the imposition of external control upon their joint and several enterprises. If social control is to be imposed, they

will have to do it themselves voluntarily by the free play of discussion and majority vote. This is the American way—the nearest approach to democracy they know. This is the way of the cooperative commonwealth—public study and public decision.

To state the American Problem thus illustrates clearly the immaturity of our society. It throws out boldly the difficulties and dangers that beset our people in their age of transition. The chief one is that a considerable proportion of them cannot be made aware of the actual situation confronting us quickly enough to ward off the impending collapse of the economic system and the destruction of our unique American form of democracy. We must not lose sight of the fact of the lags in the culture—first, of social invention (that is, of effective forms of democratic government) behind economic productivity, and second, of popular consent far behind them both.

While the educator contributes to the obliteration of the first of these lags, it is the second one particularly that concerns him. That is the lag of understanding, dynamic interest, and participation in the bulk of the people. This concerns the educator because he is the one that must build that understanding and participation by bringing up a new generation of young Americans. If the potentially Great Society is to be made an actuality, the bulk of thirty-odd million young Americans will be the ones to do it, and they can do it only if they intelligently understand the problem and are predisposed to attack it vigorously. The necessary antecedent to that is that *a large sector of the American teaching population must understand it and be disposed to do something vigorous about it in the schools*.

THE CURRICULUM-DESIGNER'S SPECIAL RÔLE IN
THE SOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN PROBLEM

That, then, is the American problem. Insistently it confronts the creative students of social reconstruction—engineers, statesmen, educators. To the engineers it is a call to a great economic design and reconstruction . . . to the statesmen an incentive to a deep and broad political reorganization . . . to the educators and especially to the curriculum-designers, the American problem presents the indispensable materials for a whole new program of education from the nursery school to the adult institute. Here are the appropriate materials for a design for living: the old ideas and attitudes which are characteristic of the American life of the past and even of the present, the new ideas and attitudes of the potentially great American culture that now emerges on the social horizon.

We have said that the curriculum-designer confronts one prior and yet ever-continuing task—to *know his culture*, to get a grip on the *real* problems of our times, to master the *true* characteristics of our social order. To restate his problem is to indicate also the task of the next chapters of our book. That task is to state those characteristics, achievements, and problems of American culture which will constitute the intellectual skeleton of the new educational program.

Fortunately history comes effectively to our aid, for while both the external features and the characteristic institutions of our social system have altered drastically in modern times, the underlying traits of western culture have remained relatively unchanged. The crucial ideas and attitudes, the driving desires and fears underlying the north Italian city culture or that of Lubeck and the Hanse cities of the 1200's A.D., or of Augsburg, Antwerp, or Amsterdam in the fifteenth and six-

teenth centuries, were identical in major respects with those which have dominated the development of our own social order. To understand those enduring ideas and attitudes of mind is to understand the forces that mold the culture today.

In Chapter III we present an outline of these enduring ideas and attitudes and the social trends that they carried along. That will be our positive constructive statement, indicating to curriculum-designers the concepts that should constitute a large part of the intellectual skeleton of the program of education.

In Chapter IV and in succeeding chapters we must face the darker side of the culture. There we confront the stresses and strains in our society—the breakdown in morale and character, the decline of established allegiances, the trends and tendencies of disintegration in a bewildering period of transition.

Thus it is only by frankly confronting actual historical trends and contemporary conditions, by courageously appraising deficiencies and problems as well as achievements that we shall be equipped to reconstruct the life and program of the school.

First, in Chapter III, a backward look at the trends and factors that gave birth to our current situation

Chapter III

INDUSTRIAL-DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY ITS CHARACTERISTICS AND ACHIEVEMENTS¹

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AGRARIAN AND INDUSTRIAL CULTURES CONTRASTED

Perhaps the most effective way to clarify the distinctive characteristics of our modern culture, within the space of a single historical chapter, is to contrast them sharply with those of the medieval manor—the typical form of pre-industrial and pre-democratic community life. Later we shall add a third and intervening form—the American frontier community. These contrasts will help us to state succinctly the chief steps by which American life became a positively unique culture of important achievements, of vast potentialities, and of dread tensions and problems.

I THE ENGLISH MANOR OF 1100 A.D.

Visualize a rolling countryside of tiny farming hamlets, open fields and forests broken occasionally by sleepy smokeless towns. Picture each hamlet as a row of thatched one-room peasant huts stretching on both sides of a cart-path under the lee of a stone house or "castle" on a hill. Out in all directions beyond the huts, the lord's castle and his "demesne"—including his fish pond and his mill—were cultivated fields farmed

¹ George E. Axtelle collaborated in the planning, assembling and organizing of material dealing with the trends and factors of the social scene. The writing of the present Chapter III was done by Harold Rugg.

on the "three-field system"; in addition there were a common pasture, clumps of woodland, and great forests and open country stretching far away. In this rural environment the people of the manor carried on a meager community life. If we could look in on it today, what are the characteristics which we would see standing out boldly?

An Isolated, Self-Sufficient Community

First and foremost, it was self-sufficient. Each peasant family pastured its two or three oxen, cows or calves, and its eight or ten sheep on the common pasture. Each one cultivated its wheat or rye, barley, oats, peas, and beans on its twenty or thirty strips of land scattered over the three fields. Each raised and slaughtered and preserved its own inadequate meat supply. Each sheared its sheep, spun its wool, and made its own clothing. Each helped in fencing meadows, cutting firewood and turf, and in doing the work of the lord's demesne, grinding grain at the lord's mill, and the like.

A tiny self-sufficient community—with perhaps a hundred human beings—and a shut-in one. There was little trade or communication with other manors or with towns. Roads and other means of transport and communication were bad or lacking altogether. Human and animal muscles supplied motive power except in rare instances when windmills and water-wheels were supplemented for such work as grinding grain.

*Goods Produced for Use, Not for Sale.
Money Almost Unknown*

In such self-sufficient communities there was little need for and almost no dependence on "money." Goods and services were obtained by barter, serfs and villeins paying the lord of the land, who "owned" nearly everything, by doing work for

him; he in turn gave physical protection to them. Thus "exchange" was a kind of *barter of services*. *Goods of all kinds then were produced almost entirely for immediate consumption on the manor*. Interdependent trade, as it was at that moment being carried on all over the Mediterranean world, was unknown. The concept of "business"—that is, of buying and selling for a distant market, of transporting raw materials to a central community to be manufactured into goods—was undreamed of. Thus every phase of economic-social life emphasized the self-sufficient, shut-in nature of the culture.

An Undemocratic "Class" Society

Another distinctive characteristic was the utter absence of democracy as we know it, with its concepts of freedom and equality of opportunity for the individual. The whole European society was a feudal hierarchy of lords and vassals, a social-order of stratified "classes." At the top were "lords" or nobles, perhaps 3 or 4 per cent of the population, "free men" owning small parcels of land, 10 or 12 per cent, serfs, owning nothing and utterly lacking in freedom, 70 to 75 per cent; slaves, mostly personal servants of the lord, 8 to 10 per cent. Children were born into one "class" of a rigidly stratified society, with little possibility of ever advancing to a "higher" one. Thus our brief glimpse into European village life in 1100 A.D. reveals a static, shut-in meager way of life.

2. AMERICAN COMMUNITY LIFE TODAY

Now pass quickly in imagination over some eight hundred years. In close juxtaposition to the agrarian order of the manor consider community life in America today. The community is typically non-rural—a village, town, or city—for three-fourths of our thirty million families now live away

from the land. Although in 1800 90 per cent of our forefathers lived on farms, today most of our people reside in communities of more than twenty-five hundred inhabitants.

Precarious, Resting on Money Income

In sharp contrast to the secure, self-sufficient agrarian life of the manor that of the American family today is precariously dependent on a money income. Practically all of the urban people and many of the farmers of America produce nothing for themselves. They buy everything—necessities, comforts, luxuries—with money.

Almost everything our people do depends upon the possession of money—even the exercise of their “inalienable rights.” The Constitution guarantees them freedom of movement, yet they cannot move about even within cities without the pice of the passage. Children are guaranteed free schooling, but they cannot secure it if their parents lack the necessary money for clothes, lunches, transport, what-not. They cling to the concept of freedom of opportunity in every walk of life and find, hour by hour, that the exercise of the privilege always waits upon the possession of money. Modern civilization, then, is a “money” civilization—nothing more definitive can be said about our economic way of life than that!

Interdependent and Fragile

Since most Americans have become completely dependent on money incomes, their very lives depend on a job that will produce purchasing power regularly. But the economic system upon which their jobs and their purchasing power depend is a fragile interdependent one—different in every respect from the self-sufficient agrarian manor. As a result of the so-called Industrial Revolution the handicraft production of completed articles has almost disappeared. The handicraftsman has been replaced by a long line of machine operators.

Thus instead of producing a completed thing for his own consumption, the industrial worker produces by standardized repetitive movements, a standardized part of an assembled thing.

Middlemen and a "Business" Way of Life

In the agrarian culture most people were the producers of things they consumed. The line from production to consumption was fairly direct and immediate. But as standardization of machine production and its handmaiden, specialization of work, increased, the passage of goods from producer to consumer lengthened, became sub-divided, departmentalized. Each step was taken over by a new "handler." A veritable hierarchy of "middlemen" arose in the production of every commodity—agencies to transport, to refrigerate, purify, or otherwise prepare for consumption, to store, to advertise, to take orders for, to re-ship, to sell at wholesale, to sell at retail, to render accounts for, to audit and validate accounts for, to collect accounts for, to adjudicate. Thus even the simplest goods became subject to a multiplicity of handlings by a lengthy assembly line of middlemen—each eager only to guarantee the security of his personal purchasing power by adding his profit to the augmenting price of the commodity.

In contrast to the producing culture of agrarian societies our industrial society has become primarily a business civilization. The bulk of our people are turning from producing things to buying and selling them. They intervene in some way between production and consumption.

Recurring Unemployment and Anxiety

On the manor and in all subsequent frontier societies there was no unemployment. There was work—more than could be compassed—for every man, woman, and child in the community. In industrial societies, however, the life history of

the worker is a succession of periods of work and idleness—of hirings and firings. Throughout most of the nineteenth century and all of the twentieth century economic-social life in each of the major industrial countries has been an unbroken succession of the ups and downs—the “chills and fevers”—of the business cycle. In a hundred years the American people have passed through fourteen major depressions, not to mention a larger number of lesser ones. For every year of so-called “prosperity” they endured two years of “hard times”! And, since 1920, even in good times there were never less than two million employable workers out of work.

In a culture, then, in which the job “is the axis on which the whole world turns for the working man,” instability of money income, based on precariousness of occupation, reveals itself in a national climate of anxiety. A dangerous disease—worry over getting a job and keeping a job—infects the public mind, worry about one’s skill, one’s health, one’s fingers, arms, legs, eye-sight, hearing, one’s sanity, one’s age—anything that will interrupt the job and the pay envelope. Witness the “middle-age deadline” of employment of forty years! Thus a social order marked by physical interdependence and insecurity is guided by an outlook of uncertainty, anxiety, bewilderment, drift.

Personal Life Anonymous and Unresponsible

In agrarian societies—like those of the manor and the frontier—all human relations were marked by three traits: they tended to be permanent . . . to be personal . . . to be responsible.

The character of our contemporary American urban life is very different. Much of it is transient and impersonal, made so by the enormous concentration of population in cities, the speed and camouflage of city transportation, the ease of living incognito, the multiplicity of hotels and transient residences,

the mobility of population, the tendency for the ambitious, less scrupulous sector of the population as well as the more creative and profound persons to congregate there, the tendency for islands of "un-American" new immigration to settle there, and the constant use of agents to "represent" the individual citizen, in either economic, political, or social affairs

Thus three concepts, definitely converse to those of agrarian societies, sum up the whole character of one's personal life in our urban industrial society it is transient . . it is anonymous . . . it is irresponsible.

But—History's Highest Standard of Living

Does our life today seem, then, a dark and uncertain picture? Yes, but it is relieved by very bright and confident aspects. In the first place, in spite of the vicissitudes of their economic-social life, industrial peoples and especially the Americans live on the highest level of economic life of any people in history. Even in this stage of continued depression—with eighty million people living on less than a thousand dollars a year—the food, shelter and clothing, recreation, schooling, what-not of all are better, more healthful, more varied, more attractive than that of the people of the manor or of most agrarian societies at any time on the earth. In the second place, as we said in Chapter II, our people have an economic system that is potentially the most productive in the world. That productive capacity is great enough to wipe out economic insecurity from our continent.

And—History's Closest Approximation to Democracy

Finally, there is no sharper contrast that can be drawn between our social order and those of earlier and other societies than that of the essential absence of "class" lines. For three centuries our people have tended toward a society in which the social barriers between the classes are obliterated. Within

the limitations to real freedom set by their possible lack of money (as we have said those limitations are serious) the mass of Americans are free—free to move about, free in their houses and on their land, free to speak and write what they think and feel, free to choose their representatives in government or to recall them from office, free to be chosen to hold office. The Constitutional documentation and the machinery of freedom have been carried in America to the highest point in the world's history.

Here then we have succinctly contrasted the two outstanding kinds of social system devised by Man: On the side of economic life the contrast is between the agrarian-handicraft and the industrial or power-machine society, on the side of government it is between the authoritarian and the democratic ways of life. Prior to our own epoch of history the industrial-democratic culture had never appeared; its invention and construction were left for the genius of the Indo-Europeans after 1100 A.D.

The foregoing contrast will serve to focus attention on the factors that enabled the western Europeans, through the cumulative efforts of twenty-five generations, to transform the agrarian undemocratic social order into a world-wide, interdependent, industrial, democratic one. Our problem as educators is to understand the factors that brought it about. We shall ask. What great ideas and inventions produced the new ways of living? Through what social trends did they emerge?

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ANCIENTS INDISPENSABLE TO EUROPE'S ACHIEVEMENT

Although it is impossible in this chapter to trace the antecedents of twelfth-century European culture, let there be no

misunderstanding about the positive contribution of the ancients. In building the new social order our European ancestors did not start from scratch. Far from it! The authentic roots of Euro-American civilization lie far back in history, in the slowly cumulating achievements of the people who inhabited the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates river valleys five thousand and more years ago. Certainly three thousand years ago a highly advanced civilization had been built in the remarkably favorable geography of the eastern Mediterranean. In nearly two thousand years of meandering, cumulative development elements of this culture were slowly transplanted northwestward into Europe by the barbarian tribes who lived there. From the east end of the Mediterranean these cultural processes moved with the traders, their wares, and their ideas, as well as with conquering armies. Across the seas, through the mountain passes, and down the river valleys to the northern and western plains of Europe they flowed in larger and larger streams.

By the sixth century A.D. Nordic-Alpine Mediterranean families, clans, and tribes had settled into the permanent sites of middle and western Europe from which first a feudal society arose and finally in the tenth and eleventh centuries modern national states slowly began to evolve. Meanwhile Mohammedan culture developed to dazzling heights in the ninth to twelfth centuries east, south, and west of the Mediterranean. Thus by the eleventh century the manor, the trading town, and other basic elements of feudal culture had been developed, and the first stage of European civilization was passing.

A Note to the Curriculum-Designer

The new education insists that if young Americans are to understand the true characteristics and problems of their own society, they must know the history of the particular move-

ments that brought them about, no matter how ancient the antecedents are. The new educational program therefore brings about a vast amount of careful historical study of the actual factors that produced the agrarian-authoritarian kinds of social order as well as of those factors that transformed it into our industrial democratic way of life today. Especially does it account for *the psychological roots of the culture*—that is, the motives, ideas, and moods of the people. It is clear that there must have been a tremendous motive power behind the gigantic exploitation to which the continents of the earth were subjected after 1600 A.D. What was it?

The new "social science,"¹ to which we turn here, answers that fundamental question. It was the driving desires and ideas of the people. To understand it we turn to a study of the drives—especially the economic interests—that made them build this new civilization. Behind the politics and the economics of human behavior in the modern western world we find its psychology—men's motives and the general outlook on life that they held. It was a new fusion of ideas and feelings, desires and fears that produced our industrial civilization.

In order therefore to understand the American business fraternity that, especially in the nineteenth century, built our astonishing economic system of today we must make sure that we understand the psychology of the Europeans who were their ancestors.

¹ I refer to the conspicuous work of such students of culture as R. H. Tawney, Harold Laski, J. A. Hobson, and other members of the faculty of the London School of Economics and Political Science, such American students as Thorstein Veblen, W. I. Thomas, Franz Boaz, F. J. Turner, Charles A. Beard, J. H. Robinson, S. B. Fay, Wertenbaker, and H. F. Barnes. A brief but reliable introduction can be obtained to this "new" history from such secondary sources as R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Miriam Beard, *A History of the Business Man*, J. A. Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, H. E. Barnes, *A History of Western Civilization* (2 volumes), F. J. Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, Charles and Mary Beard, *Rise of American Civilization*.

FROM AN AGRARIAN-AUTHORITARIAN WAY OF LIFE TO
AN INDUSTRIAL-DEMOCRATIC CULTURE

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE EURO-AMERICAN

We begin by recurring to the point made emphatically about the nature of our western way of life, namely, that it is *a business civilization resting on the possession of money income*. Ours is an *individualistic social order based primarily on competitive business*. Naturally so, for it was the multiplying traders and money-lenders who played the chief rôle in the development of the new European society after 1100 A D. A varied company of energetic, inventive, ambitious men did it including "scientists," "artists," technical inventors, and church reformers. But the chief rôle was enacted by the business men of North Italy, Germany, France, Flanders, Holland, and Britain. For several hundred years now, the leadership of the evolving society has been almost continuously in the hands of a threefold business fraternity—traders, manufacturers, and money-lenders.

WESTERN CIVILIZATION: PRODUCT OF THE URBAN
BUSINESS MEN

The outlines of the new culture began to take form in the small port cities of northern Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries as the traders added to their wealth and power. For two hundred years and more the great impetus came from the stone "towered" exchanges of the merchants of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa and the manufacturers and money-lenders of Florence. By 1300 A D. the center of trade and manufacturing was beginning to pass across the Alps to Augsburg and Nurnberg. In the 1400's and 1500's it rose there and in Antwerp and Amsterdam to great heights of financial and political control. Before 1650 the business men of those cities gov-

erned, even if behind the political scene, cities, duchies, and counties and ruled empires of trade that reached around the world.

From the continent the economic capital of the earth crossed the North Sea and English Channel in the 1500's and 1600's with the awakening of the British "merchant adventures" and settled for some three hundred years in London and her satellite cities. Finally, in our own day, it is crossing the Atlantic to New York.

Thus by the 1700's, several hundred years after the first stirrings of new interests in the manors and in the towns, Europe was made ready for the complete industrializing of economic production of power machines and for the accompanying social transformation.

We bear in mind, then, that industrialism did not suddenly burst forth full blown in the nineteenth century; it evolved slowly through realistic movements of social conflict covering some seven hundred to eight hundred years. Each century and each region contributed to the total development. Hard and realistic indeed were the stages of economic and physical struggle—eight hundred years of constant warfare in trade as well as in piracy and military conquest, hundreds of years of strenuous intellectual work of economic invention and political organization.

First, then, we note that from the very beginning the new civilization developed more and more in the towns and cities and that it was increasingly a "business" social order built and dominated by business men.

THE MOTIVE POWER OF THE CHANGING CULTURE A NEW SPIRIT OF INDIVIDUALISM

As we look back over the millennium of money-making by manufacturing, trade, and money-lending, we can see now

that new ideas and new attitudes were spreading among the more dynamic, shrewd, and vigorous persons in the population. Perhaps the most important ideas were those that dealt with *themselves* as individuals. The business man had long since thrown off the old vassal allegiances of feudal society. Increasingly he did as he wanted to. Increasingly he made others do as he wanted them to do. As he massed wealth he became "a law unto himself." He was an individualist. Looking at his fortune, his factory, his business, his mansion the self-made man of any and every century from crusading Venice to today, flung out at those who proposed to restrict it or take it by eminent domain. "It's mine! I made it! You shall not take it or touch it! You can't tax it or control it! It's mine!"

The Core of the Attitude. Freedom

Slowly a whole new mood began to take hold of the people. That mood had several facets, it is true, but they were embraced in one general attitude and idea. That was that the individual man should be left free to work out his own salvation—in personal life and in collective life. The concept of freedom rings out as the central one in the augmenting chorus of demands for "our rights" from the advancing "middle" and "lower" classes. On every continent and throughout the history of man on earth men had wanted to be free. Free to move about. Free to work when and where they pleased. Free to build their own houses, to own land. Free to worship as they chose. Free to meet with their fellows, to speak their own minds, to manage their own affairs, to decide their lot by joint exchange of ideas. Freedom!

Even as far back as 1215 A.D. King John of England was forced to sign the Magna Carta by a small determined body of land owners. The Charter abounds in the word "free", for example—Article 1. "The English Church shall be free,

etc." . . . Article 2 "granted to all the freemen . . . all the liberties, etc" . . . Article 12. "No scutage or aid shall be imposed . . . except by common council, etc" . . . Article 39. "No freeman shall be taken, imprisoned, etc. . . except by lawful judgment of his peers or the law of the land." From that time to today the literature of great political documents is filled with stipulations of freedom. To mention only a few of the most conspicuous ones: the British Petition of Right (1628) and Bill of Rights (1688), the American Declaration of Independence (1776), the French Declaration of the Rights of Man (1791,) the Chinese Sun Yat Sen's Three Principles of the People (1911)

While it is impossible in our limited space to tell the whole story of freedom and democracy as it developed in various parts of Europe, we shall outline the story of the establishment of British liberties prior to 1700. Chapter VII is devoted to the corresponding development in America

Civil and Political Liberty Distinguished

The history of advancing democracy distinguishes clearly between civil and political freedom, between what a man can do as a person and his participation in the collective affairs of the society. By *civil liberty* we have come to mean freedom:

- to move about where and when one will
- to be secure in one's house and person
- to be protected against false imprisonment
- to be tried by a jury of citizens
- to assemble with others
- to speak, or write what one thinks or feels
- to worship as one chooses

By *political liberty* we have come to mean freedom to participate in government in such ways as

- to take part without restriction in public discussion and in the making of policies

- to vote by secret ballot for one's preferred representatives in government
- to criticize policies and policy-making and legislative, executive, and judicial acts
- to initiate discussion and action leading to the continuous amendment and reconstruction of constitutions, laws, and regulations
- to hold office in government if chosen by one's fellows.

Slowly, in a thousand years and more of cumulating social history a body of principles covering these two kinds of liberty was evolved in civil and political practice and in the several countries of the western world written into fundamental documents. *They illustrate the crux of the new spirit of individualism that provided the motive power for the conquest of the entire earth after 1600 A.D.*

THE MARCH TOWARD LIBERTY IN ENGLAND

No forms of freedom were dearer to the hearts of citizens of two scores of democratic countries than those that deal with their *persons*. The establishment of the idea of *personal* freedom is really an addition to the world's thinking contributed by the Europeans. Early in the development of European society came feudalism, built firmly on the compact between two individuals—lord and vassal. Steadily as this political organization spread from western Europe eastward, the idea of individual *rights*, recorded and written down, guaranteed by ceremony and established custom advanced over the continent. An important phase of this development was the gradual acceptance of the rights of the individual to exclusive *private* ownership of his land and other property. Indeed the histories of private ownership and of civil liberty parallel each other for centuries. Every establishment of firmer ownership *rights* served to guarantee more rights to personal action, accentuating the individual's sense of self, and furthering the growth of individualism.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the widespread movements, literary and religious, known respectively as the Renaissance and the Reformation, also served to increase the emphasis on the rights of free personal conduct of the individual man and woman. Throughout most of Europe a person could do much as he liked (within the limits of the increasing body of criminal and civil law of course) *as long as he left problems of government alone*. There was little or no freedom for most individuals in politics. Only the ruling group had that, all others had to obey meticulously what they were told to do. But by 1600 A.D. with the abolition of serfdom, freedom of movement had been established in Britain and some beginnings in the direction of guaranteeing freedom of thought, speech, and toleration in religious worship. Just a word more about these various kinds of civil liberty.

Freedom of Person, Speech, Press, Assembly, and Worship

The freeing of men's bodies from bondage to the land and the landlord was accompanied by some gains in freeing their personal living. Even by 1215 with the signing of Magna Carta the "Archbishops . . . Abbots . . . Bishops . . . Barons . . . Forresters . . . Sheriffs . . . Ministers . . . Bailiffs"—that is, the more well-to-do and powerful *freemen*—had succeeded in wresting from the king written guarantees of freedom against imprisonment without fair trial and certain not very exactly stated other "liberties." These gains in freedom, moreover, slight as they were, *applied only to freemen*—a small proportion of the British population. Moreover, four centuries passed after Magna Carta before really conspicuous advances in other forms of civil liberty were made.

Then came the seventeenth century, famous in the annals of every phase of individualism—civil liberty, political liberty, science, invention, exploration, and settlement of new conti-

nents The long struggle between divine-right kings and self-asserting land owners and business men came to a head in the first quarter of the century By that time the Puritan merchants, wool-growers, clothiers, and other "factory" owners joined hands with the landed gentlemen of the shires in an open quarrel with the king. It was a quarrel over every kind of right—*economic* rights, rights to monopolies, and the like, as well as such *civil* rights as free speech, protection against unfair imprisonment, trial by jury, and *habeas corpus* It was a quarrel over *religious* rights also, the same business leaders demanding of the king freedom to worship as they pleased. Success came to the propertied classes in the reign of Charles I In 1628 the king was compelled to agree to the *Petition of Right* of the Puritan leaders, guaranteeing these civil rights

The next sixty years were a period of political turmoil, the Long Parliament (1640-1653) marked the period of the "Puritan Revolution," including the Great Rebellion, with Oliver Cromwell, and his army ruling England as a "Commonwealth" Out of the ups and downs of political turmoil there came an important climax in 1688, the complete establishment of the power of the rising middle-class leaders over government and the guarantee of fundamental civil liberties to all English citizens—notably, freedom of speech, unfair imprisonment, regulation of trial by jury, and *habeas corpus*. In the following year one other civil liberty—religious freedom—was also established by the Toleration Act of 1689 We see then that by the beginning of the eighteenth century *civil liberty* for the individual had made vast strides—clear evidence of the advance of individualism in Europe

On the side of *political liberty* not so much had been achieved, however All we can note was that the business "middle class" had risen to share great power over government with the land-owning class By 1700 the idea of govern-

ment by "divine-right" kings had been supplanted by the idea of government by a small group of property owners. To that extent political democracy had marched forward. A small, wealthy upper middle class had developed a government representative of itself. Step by step the middle-class land owners and business men had increased their wealth and had taken the control of government away from the king and his small circle of noble favorites. Thus the foundations of parliamentary government had been laid, and great charters of liberty had been written and accepted by the kings. All this had been accomplished before 1700.

But government was by no means representative of the British people. *Not more than 3 per cent of the total population of England had representation.* Not indeed until the nineteenth century was any considerable change made in this respect. Then, under the pressure of great humanitarian protests against the barbarism of the new industrialism, a succession of political "reform" acts was passed by the British Parliament. The Reform Bill of 1832 increased the percentage of the total population that had the right of suffrage from three to about five. The Second Reform Bill (1867) gave it to about 1,000,000 more males, most of whom were city factory workers. But not until 1884 were the bulk of Englishmen given the suffrage. Finally, in 1918, the women of England were enfranchised.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM "LAISSEZ-FAIRE"—THE RIGHT TO EXPLOIT PROPERTY OR PEOPLE

But all of the hectic struggle of the Europeans for a share in government pales into insignificance beside the rôle of the single great economic idea that gripped the individualistic business men of Britain and the continent of Europe, and later of the new countries formed by them. *Laissez-faire!* It

was not written into constitutions or laws. It was not even precisely phrased or written down in theoretical books in economics until the latter part of the eighteenth century. But it was uppermost in the minds of "the economic royalists" of those centuries—the pirates of the sea or land, the traders and manufacturers and bankers of the European cities for a thousand years, the merchant adventurers who settled the new continents after 1600, the emigrants who carried the frontier across each of these after 1800 and the empire builders of every industrial country after 1850.

Their propulsive slogan, variously phrased, meant the same thing for a thousand years. "Let us alone!" they told Kings and Premiers, Presidents and Congresses. "Leave each individual alone to work out his own salvation." The principle of "every one for himself" will guarantee the largest return for the whole group.

This grand rationalization of the will of courts and courtiers, merchant-adventurers and capitalist-manufacturers, was first phrased in France in the reign of Louis XV. At the very moment that Watt and Boulton were building their engines and harnessing them to the new textile machines, the French courtiers, as well as the business men-politicos of England were struggling with the age-long question. Under what political conditions will a nation's wealth be greatest? Many answers had been given, but none pleased those in power so much as that of François Quesnay, a middle-class physician of Louis XV's court, and the leader of the school of political economists called "physiocrats." In succinct French he summed up the individualistic attitude in this way: "*Laissez-faire, laissez-faire, le monde va de lui-même.*" (Let do, let be, the world goes of itself.) Freely translated, "Let them do as they will," or "Let nature take its course."

In England and America, Adam Smith, professor of moral philosophy in the University of Glasgow, gave wide-

spread circulation to the same ideas by publishing his book, *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. This new "declaration of independence for industry" (published in 1776) advised governments to leave every person free to compete with every other person in taking all the natural resources which his initiative and intelligence permitted him to take. Let the economic system develop free from restriction by government, and it will *produce* the greatest wealth for the nation. But no reference was made to the *distribution* of the wealth among the people of the nation.

It is now a truism of history that the concept of *laissez-faire* was the guiding slogan of action as well as of economic-political opinion. It became the motivating even if unphrased principle of the millions of pioneers who preempted and cleared North America and Australia, South Africa, South America, New Zealand, and the islands of the earth between 1780 and 1880. Upon this idea, coal, iron, and other mineral lands were staked out and exploited, millions of acres of forests were cut down, and public utilities were set up across whole continents. This was the dominating economic concept of the entire first Industrial Revolution—*laissez-faire . . . compete and win success . . . each individual for himself* "I got here first. I staked it out. It's mine! . . . I dug that coal . . . I drilled that oil. . . I cut that forest and cleared that ground and grew those crops. . . . That's mine!"

WE TURN FROM THE STUDY OF HUMAN MOTIVE POWER TO THAT OF PRACTICAL ACHIEVEMENT

But something in addition to ambitious energy, eager acquisitiveness, bravery, and dogged persistence was needed to build a totally new civilization on four virgin continents. Novel ideas were needed too, inventiveness and organizing

ability to put the ideas into practical application. These traits our European fathers had also. There were among them, in every century, scientific thinkers, ingenious inventors, profound philosophers, and practical builders. Indeed as inventors and practical builders they probably excelled most other peoples on the earth.

In our study of the factors that produced our civilization we turn, then, from psychology to economics and practical administration—from the motive power that propelled the people to the efficient mechanism that they built, and especially to the ideas upon which the latter was founded. The Europeans of the twelfth to seventeenth centuries foresaw every idea characteristic of our modern technical social order today but two—the idea of how to generate movement mechanically (the prime mover, the engine) and the idea of arranging mechanical parts in appropriate sequences of linear and rotary movements (the “machine”). Every other basic idea they got before 1600.

To the story of how these ideas emerged *before 1600* we turn next. Let us organize it in terms of the three periods to which we referred in Chapter II.

First Before the Machine Age, 1100–1600 A.D.

Second The First Industrial Revolution, the Machine Age, and the Great Expansion of Europe—1600 to the 1890's

Third The Great Transition Our Times—from the 1890's on

1. Before the Machine Age: 1100–1600

Since the chief political movements of European history are so well known, we shall merely recall them in an outline. But we shall combine with them a brief reference to the related geographic, economic, intellectual, and esthetic movements and factors to remind the curriculum-designer that they all should be integrated into a culture history.

1. *A propitious "geography."* Europe's location in the north temperate zone, in a stimulating productive climate warmed by westerly winds, and in the center of developing world trade . . . its vast supply of natural resources—coal, metals, fertile soils, and the like . . . its narrow level land mass, completely lacking deserts and jungles, richly supplied with navigable rivers with a highly indented coast line. Thus, Europe contained within itself the physical conditions and materials needed for a spectacular building of a gigantic power-machine civilization. Only that part of North America called the "United States" combines these conditions as effectively as does Europe.
2. *New "national" governments.* The rise—especially between 1000 and 1500 A.D.—of powerful "national" governments to political control over the people of England, France, and Spain especially, with the formation of similar city-state, county, duchy, and other regional governments in other parts of Europe. These governments were completely non-democratic in nature, established by physical combat and conquest with no regard for the civil or political rights of the rank and file of the people.
3. *Languages and national consciousness.* The parallel evolution, during the same centuries, of "national" languages and literatures in each of the principal regions, with the result that, generation after generation, the inhabitants of each region such as "France," "Spain," "England," and the like steadily advanced in loyalty to their "country." This unification of many local groups and their self-recognition as "Frenchmen" . . . "Englishmen" . . . "Spaniards" and the like was brought about partly by becoming accustomed to give allegiance to a "national" ruler—King . . . Emperor . . . what-not—partly by speaking and thinking in a common language and rhythm, and partly by expressing themselves in a "national" poetry, literature, song, and saga, and the like.
4. *Individualistic movements in religion and creative expression, 1300–1600.* The revolution in the arts of life—particularly those movements known in conventional histories as "The Renaissance" and "The Reformation." We shall not expand on the sequence of events and movements, it is the resulting changes in the climate of opinion that steadily altered the new culture to which we must pay more attention.
5. *Advances in measurement, mathematics, and science.* The as-

tonishing movement of original invention that led in the 1500's and thereafter to the construction and use of exact physical measuring instruments, the perfection of the algebra, geometry, calculus, and other forms of "higher" mathematics, the evolution of the sciences and the systematic development of the scientific method of inquiry. With the names of inventors and scientists our readers are sufficiently familiar and nothing more need be added to this brief outline. But of the powerful rôle of these as instruments for increasing the precision of thinking and of their relation to the new mood that seized men's minds—of these things we must say more.

6. *Mapping and exploring the earth.* The perfection of maps and map-making, of instruments of navigation and the sudden burst of world exploration that began in the late 1400's and expanded until in two more centuries practically the whole habitable earth had been made known to Europeans. We shall not rehearse here the well-known brilliant successes of the Columbus brothers, da Gama, the Cabots, Magellan, and their company.
7. *The beginnings of the Europeanization of the earth.* The actual physical conquest and seizure after 1500 A.D. of the continents of North and South America, Africa, Australia, of strategic spots in Asia, and on the chief islands of the earth. Again names of leaders and conspicuous events need not be recounted. The factors that contributed to it and the characteristics of the culture that evolved in this world-wide spreading of industrialism by Europe's new empires are the important matters about which we shall be concerned.

As we have said, the foregoing factors and movements are part and parcel of the stock histories of Europe, and we shall not expand the brief paragraphs of our outline. But accompanying these developments were others that contributed even more directly to the building of industrialism. We have already referred to the manner in which a continental mood of individualism slowly developed affecting every phase. They are all products or accompaniments of the new spirit of individualism. Since conventional histories have either minimized these, relegated them to later periods, or omitted them

altogether, it is necessary for us to state briefly what they were and how they contributed to our present problems

THE ANTECEDENTS OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

To understand our power-machine production and the corporate concentration of its ownership and control we must not ignore their antecedents in the complicated factory-manufacturing and interdependent business system that developed several hundred years before the first steam-engines and the other famous events of the eighteenth century. To do so we follow once more the trail blazed by the merchants, manufacturers, and money-lenders of the growing European cities.

Trade and Imperialistic Conquest

First, the antecedents of modern machine technology and business are found in the fortunes and the business methods built up by the military conquerors and traders of the European cities from north Italy in the 1100's A.D. to the British-French-German empires of world trade in the nineteenth century. The imperialistic concept of money-making and profit by seizure and trade in so-called backward regions was thoroughly established.

The new history documents fully the manner in which the merchants of Venice used the principle in building their fortunes, their pirate expeditions, their Dalmatian slave trade, their bigger and better fleets and trading ships on the Adriatic, Aegean, and the Mediterranean seas. As a single example, they used it in the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204), turning their Christian crusading allies—the stranded French noblemen—against their standing enemies, the Dalmatian pirates, and then organizing and leading them in a big business way in the capture and conquest of Constantinople, the ecclesiasti-

cal capital of the Christian Eastern Roman Empire. Thus one way of making money and one way in which the "business civilization" got started in the 1100's and 1200's was by conquest.

That it remained the direct and primitive way straight down through the centuries we can establish carefully in our new school courses of study. We need merely remind ourselves here of the unbroken succession of family intrigues, local and regional, struggles for military and political and hence economic supremacy that stretched to the twentieth century with the building of five great European "empires." We cite a single example—the transformation of England from a little backwoods island off on the edge of the world to the position of Mistress of the Seas and center of a great empire of conquest and trade by her "merchant adventurers" in the 1500's and 1600's.

Royal henchmen, such as Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Francis Drake—ostensibly merchant traders—practised downright piracy on the high seas. By ruthless, armed force they conquered "backward" peoples and seized their property. They destroyed alien business rivals. They took the lands of the Indians of North America, of the East Indians of India, of the Bantus of South Africa, of the valuable trading ports of China, Fiji, Malaya, what-not. They drove the Spanish, French, and Dutch navies from the seven seas and built an empire of trade and politics embracing one-fourth of the lands and the human beings of the entire earth.

Thus a worldwide system of trade, manufacturing, and banking was established in every continent of the earth and on most of the principal islands before the middle of the nineteenth century. Branch offices of the leading British trading companies and banks were established in each of the world's leading ports and in many of the principal towns. By 1800

these were protected by the world's greatest navy, and by the violent seizure and fortification of parcels of land around strategic trading and manufacturing centers.

Great Britain, of course, was only the first of six major powers that went in for world trade and imperialism. She merely got a good head start on the others, staking out the choice places in the sun before the middle 1800's. France, Germany, and other powers followed suit in a big way after 1850. To remind ourselves that the technique has not been entirely laid aside, witness Japan's seizure of Manchuria in 1931 and of the Yangtze Valley and north China in a gigantic undeclared war since 1937 . . . Mussolini's seizure of Ethiopia in the same way in 1935 . . . Hitler's forcible annexation of defenseless Austria in the spring of 1938—and, as we write, his dismembering of Czechoslovakia and the Danubian countries.

ANCIENT ROOTS OF OTHER MODERN IDEAS

Standardized Machines, Specialization of Labor and Mass Production

A second "modern" idea was also well known 500, 600 years ago and used to make money *the mass production of goods by standardized machines and specialization of labor*. We of the Power Age are prone to think of ourselves as the first to think up the idea of carrying on standardized interchangeable manufacturing by specialized labor in factories. But many of these processes were known and used in crude ways hundreds of years ago.

For example, consider the production and sale of woolen cloth in Florence in the 1300's and 1400's. In 1338 more than 100,000 pieces of completed woolen cloth were manufactured and sold there. Many of the sheep from which the wool was sheared were raised in far-away England. The wool was

brought to Florence, cleaned, combed and carded on machines, spun and woven on machines run by water power in large factories, "finished," packed and transported by wagon-train and ship to distant parts of Europe and even to Asia and Africa where it was sold. It was indeed a vast and complicated business, involving intricate accounting and bookkeeping transactions and a worldwide organization of men and materials.

Thus it might be claimed that the first Industrial Revolution of Europe really started in the 1300's and 1400's, and not after 1700 A.D. as we are accustomed to say. A partial list of the mechanical inventions of that universal genius Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) includes windmills, guns, "machines" for making paper, printing presses, silk-reeling machines, wire-pulling machines, spinning wheels, treadle looms, water-driven iron-works, saw-mills, canal dredges, pumps, belt drives, spindles, globes, cranes, roller-bearings.

In Florence in 1407 there were "factories" in which "specialization of labor" was carried to such a point that wool was cleaned, carded, spun, and woven into cloth by thirty different workers each doing over and over again one specific step of the process. The machines were run by the power of water-wheels instead of by human muscles. In 1341 a silk mill in Bologna was installed on a contract which guaranteed that the machine would do "the work of 4,000 spinning women." But it was in Nurnberg and especially in the manufacturing of armament and munitions that the technical ideas of standardization of parts and specialization of labor developed as early as the 1500's.

Here, then, was mass production . . . specialization of labor . . . power-machine manufacturing indeed—long before Watt and Company! Crude of course, wasteful and inefficient, compared to our giant machine technology of today—an awkward regime of wood and leather and water and wind power instead of steel and electricity as today. But it

was a vast improvement on the handcraft, muscle-power regime of the manor and later of the isolated frontiers of the new countries.

Early Capitalists

We said that it was the business men who had the surplus money to finance these bigger and better enterprises of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and later centuries. Note carefully, "surplus" money—money or goods, we should add—free for investment, was what was needed. In modern times we have invented a special name for such surplus money—*capital*. The idea of "capital" invested in a business has roots that are ancient indeed, dating back to the later periods of the river-valley civilizations. Each generation and each epoch has discovered special techniques of financing extensive economic enterprises. Today, for example, most of our industrial enterprises are carried on by corporations, concerns chartered by government to collect capital from large or small investors, issue to them stocks and bonds, and pay to them the profits earned.

The Chief Example: The Business Family

But throughout the period which we are discussing, the chief bulwarks of capital were the families of wealthy merchants and money-lenders. As the volume of the trade conducted by one business house increased in the early centuries of modern times, powerful business families arose—themselves constituting a kind of closed company, letting no one else in to share in ownership or control or profits. Witness a few of the most conspicuous the Medici, the Bardi, the Peruzzi, the Mozzi, the Gruwaldi, the Frescobaldi in the Italy of 1200–1500, the Fuggers, Welser, Klebergs, Hochstetters of Augsburg, Nurnberg, and other German cities of the 1300's to 1500's, the Bickers, the Buicks, or the Hoofts in

the Amsterdam of the 1500's, 1600's, and 1700's; the Greshams of England in the 1500's and 1600's, the Rothschilds of any modern European country in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, or the Matsus and Matsubishis of Japan, the Krupps of Germany, the Morgans, Rockefellers, Fords, Mellons, of our own period.

The "Joint-Stock" Company

As the business civilization advanced and more people used and "saved" money, the idea underlying the modern corporation slowly emerged. That idea was to provide a central pool of capital, contributed by many investors, the risks, control over management, and profits to be shared by investors in proportion to the amount invested. Centuries passed, of course, while this idea of using the "joint" capital of several people developed into what the modern Europeans call the "joint-stock company," and what we in America term the "corporation." In fact in the principal two forerunners in England—the chartered company and the statutory company—the persons in the company held a monopoly from the Crown over a certain business but did not pool their capital. Witness first the chartered companies that did foreign business—the Merchant Adventures of England (1390), the Merchant Settlers (1500's), the East India Company (1600), the Bank of England (1694), and others. Witness, second, the statutory companies that did business within the country—transportation companies, semi-public companies operating canals, docks, harbors, bridges, waterworks, and the like.

Out of these chartered and statutory companies eventually emerged the modern joint-stock company or corporation.

We see then that not only were large scale enterprises under way centuries ago, but the ideas and machinery for raising the "capital" necessary to keep them going had been devised also.

Interest: Making Money Make Money

By the 1300's the manufacturers and traders of Europe had found easier ways of making vast sums of money. They rediscovered the art of lending money at interest, which the peoples of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, and other early civilizations had known. They became money-lenders.

As time passed the Florentine traders built up reputations not only for the safe-keeping of money which was sent to them, but they came to be known as clever investors. Nobles and kings and even Popes and other officers of the Church found that these Florentine money-lenders would multiply their surplus funds many-fold. How? Sometimes by investing it in lucrative manufacturing and trading enterprises, but more frequently by lending it for them at a very high rate of interest.

We today, who have come to think of 6 per cent as a fair rate of interest, are astonished at these mediæval rates. A well-known proverb bandied about Florence said: "25 per cent is nothing at all, 50 per cent will pass the time away, 100 per cent is interesting." And double their money they did! In fact, old records tell us that there have been instances when money was lent at the rate of 266 per cent interest.

From that day to this, lending money at interest has been one of the chief ways of making money quickly and in large amounts. Likewise, it has been the chief route to economic and political power. The Fuggers practised the idea from their economic citadel in Augsburg. The merchants of Nürnberg, Antwerp, and Amsterdam built their economic dictatorships upon it in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was the chief basis of economic and political power in the building of the British empire, and in the development of all the new countries of the earth—including our America.

Monopoly Control of the Things Men Must Have

But such gigantic profits, such out-of-all-proportion-incomes as the *conquistadores*, the money-lenders, the merchants, and the manufacturers made in the awakening European cities could not have been made under the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, certainly business of the "fair competition" brand. It needed the blessings of governing authority to *prevent* competition. That blessing was forthcoming, in the form of "sole rights" granted by the ruling power in return for "service"—as tribute was called

Sole rights to what? *To anything men must have!* Today we call it "monopoly."

Edward Bellamy once put into the mouth of a Utopian, in his book *Equality*, "If you own the things men must have, you own the men who must have them." This tremendous idea the astute business men in every stage of developing modern society discovered. So they got a strangle-hold on "the things men must have"—land, forests, fuels, fabrics, fertilizers, ships, transport and communication systems, banking and credit facilities. This strangle-hold was called "monopoly." The route to it? Success in the competitive race.

Monopoly, then, was one of the most potent instruments in the making of the new industrial society of Europe after 1100 A.D. Monopoly of strategic pieces of urban land, of canals, roads, bridges. Monopoly of nitrates and phosphates, of metals—iron or copper, gold or silver, manganese or aluminum. Monopoly of the carrying trade, overland and overseas. Monopoly of mountain passes, rivers and harbors—portages and havens of divers kinds. Monopoly of wool or cotton. Monopoly of the precious metals and the coinage of money. Monopoly of credit. Monopoly of the collection of revenues, customs, duties, taxes, of licenses and franchises.

So by owning the things men had to have these traders and money-lenders came to own the men who had to have them. In every one of the past eight centuries, including our own, that has been true. Economic control gave them the government—political control—in every epoch of history and among every people. Thus in every culture they became the new nobility, the aristocracy—eventually “royalty.” So the de Medici became “Doges,” “Popes,” and “Queens”; the Fuggers, “Counts”, Bickers, “burgomasters”; Greshams, “knights of the realm ”

II. The First Industrial Revolution, 1600–1890's, Produces the Machine Age

Summing Up a Bit

As we turn then directly to the factors that brought about our industrial society, we see that most of the foundational ideas had been developed in western Europe by the 1600's A.D. For example, witness these:

- A dynamic individualistic society . . . each person increasingly left free to build the kind of life his abilities and desires dictated . . . a progressive advance toward democracy on all fronts—although much slower in matters of political than of civil liberty
- Society more and more dominated by the acquisition and use of money, obtained chiefly by buying and selling and money-lending . . . the new “middle-class” business group increasingly winning political as well as economic power and prestige
- Capacity to produce goods very slowly augmenting—with ideas of “factory” manufacture, specialization of labor, and use of water and wind power and crude “machines ”
- Capacity to explore and exploit the earth expanding rapidly with aid of new measuring instruments and rudiments of mathematics and science
- Capacity to explore and exploit the earth due to development of ideas of assembling capital in concentrated management . . . antecedents of joint-stock company already established.

- Concentration of wealth and aggressive economic and political leadership in a few families due in part to their collaboration with authoritarian rulers in establishing monopolies over strategic resources, privileges, geographic and economic vantage points, and the like.
- Imperialistic control of "backward peoples and lands" by monopolistic "adventuring companies" beginning to be established . . . increasing export of surplus wealth to these regions and investment there in lands, raw materials, markets, and new production plants . . . rivalry between "major powers" for these resources, markets, and the like, supported by growing naval and land armaments and producing almost continuous international warfare.

WHAT THEY STILL LACKED IN THE 1600's

All these things the western Europeans knew and practised in the 1600's. And yet their production of goods was glaringly inefficient and the bulk of them lived on a very low standard of life. Why?

An Efficient Power Machine Lacking

For many related reasons, but primarily because after five thousand years of "civilization" all physical goods still had to be produced slowly and laboriously by hand. *The power had to be supplied and the manipulative movements made by human muscles.* There were no engines, and such machines as were available were crude wooden things and so inefficient as to be almost useless in the finer crafts. The only power supplement to animal and human muscles was supplied by water-wheels and windmills. For certain crude mass kinds of work like grinding grain and pumping water these were good substitutes, but for fine precise applications of power such as those required in spinning and weaving, forging and manipulating metals, woodworking, what-not, men still relied on their muscles—at one-tenth of a horsepower per able-bodied

man per eight-hour day! As for "machines," which we said a while back were in existence—well—they were, but they were awkward wasteful things, made of wood and leather, and they had never made much headway with the craftsmen

It is really for the correction of two chief deficiencies—(1) lack of power appropriate in amount and application, and (2) manipulative skill—that the First Industrial Revolution will be remembered. Engines of great power and machines of manipulative dexterity were invented and built. In the first awkward fumbling stage of the real Industrial Revolution (1600's-1890's) the initial ideas were thought up and stumblingly experimented upon. Following that trial and error era, sensational advances were made in the years of our Great Transition in refinement of constructional detail. And before 1900 practicable power machines were in large scale operation in the six continents of the earth—and nowhere more efficiently or on a bigger scale than in America.

Other Deficiencies

As we look back at the production of goods from the vantage point of the Power Age, we can see that certain other things, which are indispensable to modern machine technology, were lacking even as late as 1750. What things? There was a multitude of details but six major items, enumerated without regard for order of importance, stand out

First New materials—strong enough, tough enough, flexible or resistant enough for the new physical work. There were several of these but one—steel—stood out above all others. As we shall see later, the First Industrial Revolution—the Machine Age—was essentially the "Age of Steel." Correspondingly it is likely that the second one—the Power Age—will also be known as the Age of Alloys.¹

¹ Note the current advances in the production of light alloys by the use of manganese and aluminum.

Second. But to work the new materials *fuels and processes* were necessary which were capable of supplying intense heat. This need led to the treatment of coal, the devising of coke, the use of gas and electricity, the invention of reverberatory and other furnaces, and of intricate methods of treating metals.

Third. *Machine tools* large enough, powerful enough, precise enough to make the engines and machines themselves. For example, to make an engine's boiler thin steel plates were needed (The first ones were of wood!) They were never well made until the rolling mill was invented in the nineteenth century. Or, contrast the first stone and iron railroad rails with the current rolled ones! To make the cylinders of the engine head a precise boring mill was needed. James Watt's cylinders, made by hand, were one-eighth of an inch wider at one end than at the other, and there was a "play" of three-eighths of an inch between piston and cylinder wall! To turn piston heads, rods, axles, and other cylindrical parts, the lathe was needed. These "machine tools" were essentially the product of the ingenuity of the inventors of the First Industrial Revolution—most of them after 1800.

Fourth. But to make any of these things *precise measuring instruments* were needed, instruments like the micrometer which could measure to thousandths of an inch.

Fifth. But all of these steps could be taken only if *technicians and skilled workers* learned how to make and use them. Watt was warned that although his idea of a reciprocating engine was sound, not a craftsman in all England could be found competent to make it—in 1775!

Sixth. The *habit of working regularly* for wages in a "factory." Although factories had existed and workers had been employed at various times and in various countries for hundreds of years, a new factory system had to be developed on a large scale.

Now all of these interdependent phases had to be carried on more or less together. Each was dependent on the others. A better machine and hence an increased productive capacity could be attained only if all advanced together. An efficient factory system waited on the perfecting of all these steps. As we look back, we can see that all were thought up in the same century—between 1750 and 1850. Taken together with engines and machines and the corporation they constituted the building of the great machine-technology of our industrial civilization.

To list these physical ingredients of our modern technology is practically to state the achievements of the Industrial Revolution during the two centuries following the early 1700's. For one by one the invention of these eight indispensable parts of the economic system (the foregoing six items in addition to the engine and the machine) was contrived and put into practicable and efficient form. To tell the whole dramatic story would require a huge volume; here we can merely show how the essentials of the mechanism were set up.

THE MECHANISM OF POWER-MACHINE TECHNOLOGY

1. Engines that produce and transmit power mechanically, technically called—"Prime Movers"
2. Machines of manipulative cleverness (including also machine tools, appropriate materials, fuels, processes, and measuring instruments)
3. The Vertical Corporation concentrating financial support and integrating all necessary processes of manufacture in a single "straight-line" factory system

These constituted the essential mechanism of the new economic system, the spirit of aggressive individualism was the motive power. Together, and slowly and laboriously, they went far toward making modern man master of nature.

I. A GREAT IDEA HOW TO PRODUCE MOVEMENT
MECHANICALLY

It took almost exactly 300 years¹ of direct trial and error construction to produce an efficient engine—even after 1600 A. D. when inventive Europeans had finally got their imaginations to working along the right paths. Three centuries of trial and error—the first two centuries, largely error.

It's an exciting story of Man on the trail of ways of moving things. The idea of producing *movement* was the cue to the whole problem.

The engineers recognize that the problem of mechanical power is that of producing movement, witness their name for engines—"prime movers"¹ The story is set in two great chapters: (1) that of using the moving power of an expanding gas, (2) that of using the moving power of electricity.

It sounds like a very simple problem to sum it up so succinctly after 300 years of struggle. But it was really a difficult and disheartening task. There are many who would say that only the spirit of free enterprise and the lure of fame and riches kept the dogged inventors everlastingly at it. Certain it is that the cash prizes for a workable steam pump offered by the coal and iron mine owners of England were a very substantial stimulation. (One of these prize-offering owners about 1600, a certain Mr. Back, was spending \$5,000 a year to feed 500 horses who operated treadmill pumps for his mine—"horsepower" with a vengeance!) A century and a half, yes two centuries of whittling and guessing followed—whittling because most things in the seventeenth century still had to be made of wood, and guessing because of the paucity of scientific knowledge.

¹ And some 300 years more than that if one includes the vast amount of instrument-making, machine invention, glass-making, tinkering with "mechanical men," brilliant successes by de Vick and Company in the construction of mechanical clocks and watches, and the like, from 1300 to 1600.

I. THE STEAM-ENGINE

The Idea of Pushing the Piston

But cumulatively—each standing on the intellectual shoulders of his predecessors—these engine-makers finally guessed their way to one of the two great ideas—to the idea of “pushing a piston” with expanding gas. Many attempts preceded the final success. In the 1600’s there were the attempts of Porta, de Caus, and the Marquis of Worcester to make steam pumps. But not one of these seemed to lead to anything important until Denis Papin (1670) thought of enclosing steam in a tube and using its expansive force to push a piston—like a pea blown through a pea-shooter! For a long time after that engineers gave up forcing water through spouts and followed the piston idea.

Then came three Englishmen who solved the problem of the steam engine. Captain Thomas Savery and Thomas Newcomen made practicable even if grossly inefficient steam pumps about 1700, and James Watt, the Glasgow mechanic, made, between 1763 and 1782, the first “reciprocating” steam-engine. It was an engine of eighty horsepower! An unheard of amount of power and, lumbering though it was, vastly more efficient than its predecessors, the Savery and Newcomen “one-lung” steam pumps.

Slowly Watt and his partner Boulton persuaded mine owners, clothiers, even forge men to use the new engine. By 1800 they were supplying motive power for many enterprises in England. At first the British government at the behest of manufacturers who were afraid of foreign competition banned the export of either engines or machines or the designs for them. By one channel or another, however, they came into use on the continent and in America after 1800.

Slowly methods of using coal and coke in smelting iron ore and ways of forging metals improved. Slowly inventors devised the fundamental machine tools without which efficient engines could not be made. First came the lathe, the parent of them all (Maudsley, 1797, is the conspicuous name). Then came the boring tool (John Williamson had invented a crude one as early as 1774), and the rolling machine with which *sheet metal* could be produced, making possible the building of boilers, tanks, locomotives, ships, and many other things. And there was a host of others, too numerous even to name here.

So a century and more passed from Watt's final patent (1782). In 1902, when I myself was a weaver in a New England cotton mill, the power for that huge factory was supplied by a single reciprocating steam-engine that in fundamental principle was a lineal descendant of the Watt engine of 1782. Materials, workmanship, exactness of dimensions, accuracy of fittings—all these were vast improvements on Watt. But the ideas were essentially the same, and hence the deficiencies were essentially the same. For example, so inefficient was the extraction of work-producing energy from coal by transforming it into steam—by burning it under the boilers of an engine's pistons—that only 4 per cent of the potential energy was obtained!

The Related Problem of Transmission

But there was another great deficiency—the waste caused by *mechanical transmission of the power to the machines of the factory*. These were arranged on several floors of several buildings centering in an engine house. The power was transmitted from the engine cylinders to these buildings and to the separate machines by a complicated system of slipping leather belts on turning steel wheels and creaking wooden

shafts geared together. The waste of power in this mechanical transmission was so great that the workmen actually got less than 1 per cent of the original potential energy of the fuel.

Moreover, the fact that in 1902 the power still had to be used approximately at the spot where it was made was sufficient to make the steam-engine of that time still an essentially inefficient thing. It was almost as restricted in effectiveness as the medieval windmill or water wheel in which the machine had to be attached directly to the axle of the turning wheel.

2. THE GAS ENGINE AND SELF-PROPELLED VEHICLES

Finally there was a third great source of inefficiency—the fact that the engines were huge and heavy and clumsy and were, as they are called, “stationary.” It was very difficult to use them effectively in self-propelled vehicles, although it is true that Murdock, Trevithick, and other tinkers did actually run regularly scheduled steam busses on England’s roads by 1800. And the steam railroad locomotive and steam-propelled boat were actualities soon after that. Nevertheless the search was for a way of making power in a smaller and lighter contraption.

Success did not come until the late 1800’s as a result of the cumulative trial and error experiments of several Europeans and several more Americans. As early as 1670 the Dutch scientist Huyghens had suggested *exploding something inside the cylinders*; he wanted to use “gunpowder,” but people thought he was crazy. This was a very different idea from the steam-engine, in which steam was *forced into* the cylinders from the outside. Two centuries later inventors proved Huyghens was right—by exploding gasoline inside cylinders and moving pistons thereby.¹

¹ To document with a few important names and dates, note, The Europeans—Etienne Lenoir (1863)—“gas carriage”, Gottlieb Daimler (1883)

At last an engine had been thought up which was powerful enough to turn the wheels of motor cars or whole trains or ocean liners and small enough to be carried around in the vehicle while it was doing it. At last, an efficient self-propulsive vehicle—an "auto-mobile" At last, we say, because the fact was not accomplished until just at the turn of the twentieth century.

But there always seems to be a reservation! There was still that drawback about "power transmission" Even with the light efficient internal-combustion gas engine, the power still had to be used at the spot where it was made!

3. THE ELECTRIC GENERATOR FINALLY SOLVES TWO PROBLEMS

The successful solution of the problems of an *efficient prime mover* and of *efficient power transmission from a central power station* was even then being achieved Other fanatics of mechanical invention—most of them unaware of where their "projecting," tinkering, and experimenting would lead them—had been following the trail of a curious phenomenon known variously as "the virtue" or "the electric." Note a few conspicuous names and events Dr. William Gilbert's discovery (1600) of the power of attraction generated by rubbing pieces of amber . . . Otto von Guericke (1664) made "the electric" by whirling a ball and also succeeded in sending the charge several yards over a silk thread . . . Stephen Gray (1730) sent a charge over a wire of 866 feet (The idea of "transmission" was slowly being grasped!) . . . Peter van Musschenbroek of Leyden (1745) made the "leyden

—gas motor-cycle, Carl Benz (1883)—gasoline "buggy", the Americans—George Selden (1879-1895), Charles Duryea (1892), Elwood Hutton (1894) and, about the same years, Henry Ford, the Dodge brothers, John P. Willys, the Studebaker brothers, and Walter P. Chrysler

jar" . . . Benjamin Franklin showed how to increase the power in leyden jars and proved that lightning was electricity . . . the combined imaginations of Galvani and Volta (about 1790) produced the voltaic cell . . . Oersted and Andrie Ampère (1819) established the magnetic properties of electric current . . . And then Michael Faraday (1831) discovered the epoch-marking idea upon which the electric dynamo rested—namely, that an electric current could be generated in a wire merely by turning the wire between the ends of a magnet.

In 1882, Thomas Edison, the dogged trial and error man, put together the accumulated results—and presto!—the central electric power station at last—generating electric power in Menlo Park, New Jersey, and lighting streets and buildings in New York City miles away. Here was success in two needed directions at once—cheap and efficient power generation . . . cheap and efficient power transmission.

Every school boy knows the practical achievements of the past half century: enormous expansion in the size of generators and engines. Single hydro-electric installations like those at Niagara Falls which make hundreds of thousands of horsepower . . . a vast increase in the distance over which electric power can be sent by wire (now said to be commercially efficient over a distance of 600 miles) . . . discovery of the principle of the turbine wheel and its application in the making of use of power—and many others which we need not take the space to mention.

Thus two of the foundation stones of a grant capacity to produce a fine physical standard of living were laid at last (1) the design and construction of an efficient prime mover (the gas or steam-engine, or the electric generator); (2) the

cheap and efficient transmission of power over long distances. Thus, with vast stores of fuels, metals, and other raw materials, the industrial nations—and America was particularly favored—were well on the way to solving the problem of economic security.

Two other things were needed, however, to solve that problem. First, efficient machines and scientific methods of using them, this was finally developed in the power-machine factory system. Second, concentration of financial support in a few managerial hands, this was supplied at last by the devising of the vertical corporation. And these things were being contrived during the very years in which efficient power production and transmission were brought into being.

II THE POWER-MACHINE FACTORY SYSTEM

Machines Making Manipulative Movements

The story of machine invention and construction need not be given in great detail. Enough has been said to show the curriculum-designer the general outline of the history of machine technology that must be incorporated into the new program of education. Suffice it to remind ourselves that while Papin, Watt, Faraday, Edison, and associates were discovering ways of producing giant power, another host of patient imaginative mechanics were struggling with a parallel and equally difficult problem—to arrange machine parts in such a proper sequence of linear and rotary movements that the product will be commodities as well made as if human hands had made them.

That was the problem. Evidence to show how several hundred years of tinkering solved it abounds on every side of us and in every industrial country. Study, for example, a steam-shovel digging up a street, or walk through a shoe factory, a

spinning and weaving mill, a steel mill, a bread-making plant or a milk-pasteurizing plant, and observe the amazing machines that do so much of Man's work today

Consider the case of the steam-shovel. It is a giant digger operated by a single workman, the scoop picking up a load many times as heavy or large as a man with a hand shovel can manage and depositing it exactly in a desired place. What makes this possible? First, giant power made by a gas engine or by an electrical generator, second, a machine capable of making a series of movements that when directed properly and taken in the right sequence will do the work of human muscles. Those two things the designers of the steam shovel succeeded in doing. They found a way to break the three-dimensional organic movements made by the human muscle into a series of linear and rotary movements. Result? Enormous multiplication of productivity—one worker with the machine doing many times as much as one worker with a hand tool!

That, perhaps you are thinking, is an instance of a fairly simple machine designed to do a crude kind of work. What about machines to do the complicated work of making—let us say—a shoe? Surely no one machine can do that!

The Power-Machine Factory

You are right, no single machine can carry on the infinite number and kinds of movements necessary to manufacture a shoe! But—note carefully—factories of many different machines organized in the right sequence can—and do—do it today. Not one machine—but many (170 separate and different ones are reported in use in one of our largest factories), each machine designed to carry on only one fairly simple set of movements, each machine operated by a separate skilled worker who does the one specific thing over and over, all day, all year long, each machine arranged in a long sequence of

machines, each machine and its human operator in exactly the most efficient place to take the partially finished work and to do the next thing that needs to be done to it. One hundred and seventy machines and their operators arranged in the most efficient order. Organized in this way, the factory of power machines will do the work of the handcraftsman and do it infinitely quicker and in mass-production quantities.

In the manufacture of a shoe today is involved all of the factors of modern machine and business technology. They are all summed up in the efficient factory which houses power machines that are (1) exactly standardized as to parts and processes, (2) arranged in scientifically routed sequence, (3) organized to employ natural aids such as gravitational force, (4) operated in perfect assembly line fashion by regiments, companies, and troops of specialized skilled workers, who are bossed by skilled supervisors, everything they do planned and controlled behind the scenes by technologists—the whole enterprise directed, hired and fired by executives, financed and hence controlled by absentee owners and money-lenders, and subject to the fluctuations of a fragile interdependent worldwide market.

The end point of all this in productive capacity? A skilful and quick old-time shoemaker could make a shoe by hand in a day. The modern power-machine factory turns one out at the rate of one per worker every twenty minutes.

And what is done for shoes, is done also for most of the staple commodities in use today.

This, then, is a brief glance at the result of 200 years of machine invention. As for the beginning we need merely to be reminded of a few conventional names and dates of the first textile inventions of the 1700's—Kay and his flying shuttle (1733) . . . Hargreaves, Cartwright, Arkwright, Crompt-

ton (between 1760 and 1790), Houllocks (1803-1813), Sharp and Roberts (1822) as the beginning of the design and construction of fairly efficient *metal* machines. In each of the chief fields of manufacture the decades of the nineteenth century brought better machines—machines that made movements more manipulatively and delicately, machines harnessed to bigger and better adapted power facilities. We must bear in mind the generations of parallel design and invention of better ways of using fuels, of forging metals, of inventing machines in non-making and machines to make and repair machines. Even to list the conspicuous names and events would require many pages. There is no need to do so for our purposes because we show the course of developments in our later discussion of the American industrial expansion after 1860.

*THE NORTHWEST EUROPEANS SPREAD THEIR
CIVILIZATION AROUND THE EARTH,
1600-1900 A.D.*

Once more we must turn the history clock back to 1600 A.D. While these antecedents of industrial society were developing, just the right combination of circumstances had occurred to send intrepid bands of European settlers out all over the earth. The new world had been discovered and the earth pretty well mapped. It was known that there were rich untouched soil, fur-bearing animals, and many valuable natural resources to be had for the taking in these new regions. Centuries of religious controversy and political and economic intrigue and oppression had brought many independent-minded people to the mood of packing up and moving to other lands to find their fortunes.

So in the 1600's the gigantic trek got under way, slowly at first but faster and faster as the decades passed. Little lone bands of British and Dutch emigrants worked their way across

the Atlantic to the Americas or down the African coast to the Cape of Good Hope. There they built cabins and planted patches of corn and, after a generation of privation got a firm foothold on the new continent. Preceding them were bands of freebooters like the Spanish *conquistadores*, or companies of traders like the French *courier de bois* of Canada or the spice exploiters of the Far East.

But many more of these European emigrants were earnest homesteaders who went out to build European civilization in new and virgin continents. Such were the English Pilgrims, the Puritans, the Friends, the Scotch-Irishmen, and other discontented bands who settled the Atlantic coastal plain. Such were the Dutchmen who founded the Cape Colony in South Africa. Such were the exiled and persecuted Germans, Huguenots, Scotch, and Irish that crossed in whole fleets to the American Colonies between 1690 and 1720 to be followed by the children's children of their neighbors in every decade of the 1700's and 1800's. Every generation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries brought an "act of God," or an act of a divine-right ruler or some other pressure or drive to create a new exodus of European peoples. Hence the emigration of Englishmen to South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand after 1800, mounting emigration from Ireland to America in the 1840's, the corresponding flood of west Germans in the 1850's, the hordes of Norsemen who helped settle our Northwest after 1870, and the fifteen million Italians, Jews, Slavs, and other southern and eastern Europeans who came here between 1895 and the World War.

Achieved by Hand!

The three centuries constituted, as Addis said, "the greatest attack of the miner on the land" that the history of the world had ever revealed. *And it was done by hand!* These men and women of northwest Europe broke the sod of five continents

with hand plows and oxen! These butchers of forests in the Americas, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, eager for immediate profits, cut billions of acres of trees with hand axes! These hundreds of millions of cabins, frame houses, brick and stone structures were built by human muscles. These billions of acres of grain were sowed, cultivated, and harvested by hand. It was a bare-handed muscle attack on the entire earth that these determined individualists carried on. The whole foundation of the new civilization had been laid by 1850 before the corporate power-machine technology had gotten established. In fact there wasn't a central power station in the world when the free arable land of America was declared to be preempted and modern "European" communities were in advanced stages of development around the earth. Of course, literally, the surface of the earth had hardly been scratched by 1850. The real attack of the miner on the land came in a half-dozen sensational decades after 1850—indeed most of it after 1880. A bit of that story we hear in a moment.

The vast human trek can be summed up statistically. In 1650 the population of all the white people called Europeans on the entire earth was only about one hundred million, and all but a few thousands of them lived on the little continent of Europe. In 1929 the population of these "white unmixed descendants" was 642,000,000, and some two hundred million of them lived in North America, South America, Asia, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the principal islands of the earth.

The British had settled five new countries—the United States of America . . . Canada . . . Australia . . . New Zealand . . . and the Union of South Africa (today the latter is three-fifths "Dutch," however)

The Spanish had settled nineteen new countries in North and South America, from Mexico to Argentina, and the Portuguese one (Brazil)

The Dutch had established control over a vast trade empire in the East Indies.

The Russians had extended a thin stream of part-way European civilization all the way across Asia

The French "Empire" took in much of Africa and large territories of Asia

Moreover, so completely had the political conquest of the northwest Europeans kept pace with their economic exploitation and community-building that not less than two-thirds of the people (1,300,000,000 human beings) on three-fourths of the land of the earth were ruled by their governments and were being inoculated rapidly with their ideas. The earth was being "Europeanized" by the new industrial-democratic-literate culture.

Thus a new chapter of exodus had been written in the story of mankind.

IN AMERICA A UNIQUE BRAND OF THE EUROPEAN CULTURE DEVELOPED

Each of these groups of emigrants carried out to their respective new countries the ideas and the spirit of the special brand of European culture peculiar to its national homeland. Thus the Spanish emigrants created nineteen new Latin American republics which, while becoming more "Americanized" in every decade of the twentieth century, are basically "Latin." The English and Scotch emigrants to Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa created three European styles of civilization. But each of these, while changed from the original European in certain physical aspects to fit the special "geography" of the regions was nevertheless, as the people today affirm, "more British than the British."

But the same northwest European stock created in that part of North America that lies between the twentieth and forty-eighth parallels a brand of European culture that in physical

capacity and in spirit and outlook is uniquely "American." As for the former, the American standard of living is physically better than that in any major country of the world. As for the latter, although forms of the European individualism called democracy have been growing in twenty-five new countries, the American type appears to express its fullest fruition and to be withstanding more successfully than the others the current onslaught of authoritarian ideas. We call it variously . . . the American spirit . . . the American Way . . . the American Dream. It is not British even though 90-odd per cent of the "Americans" were of British descent in 1790. It is definitely different from the culture of Australia or of New Zealand—even of Canada, although it resembles the latter more closely than the other two. And it certainly is not German or Scandinavian or Slavic or Jewish although several million of the emigrants who produced the American people came from each of those racial and regional stocks of Europe. No, this culture of ours is American. Perhaps Adams' statement of the "American Dream" is the best we have yet had uttered in one sentence. "A social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable." That is a statement of the aspiration of every thinking American for his people. It is the current end-point of a millennium-long struggle to produce an individualism that will work socially.

The Makings of a Great Civilization

This is the goal and the potentiality of the American thing. What brought it to its current stage of development? Here I can do no more than tabulate the factors. Compactly listed they are

—A virgin continent, isolated for 250 years from the disrupting intrigues and wars of Europe . . . thus permitting the building

of a new brand of European civilization without foreign imposition and interruption.

- One of the two or three potentially richest economic regions on the earth . . . located in a tremendously productive and stimulating cyclonic zone *located moreover in the very center of modern world trade, in the north temperate zone in which are concentrated 1,600,000,000 people* (note that in contrast only 38,000,000 live in the south temperate zone!), a vast domain of rich soil, forests, vegetation, fuels, and metals . . . in short actually located, *geographically speaking*, in "the best of all possible worlds"!
- A "selected" population of pioneering, resourceful, thrifty, and industrious people, among the best of northwest Europe's population . . . not primarily of one national background but contributed to by diverse races, nationalities, and cultures.
- The head start given by the thousand years of maturing European culture that we have outlined in these chapters, particularly the unique styles of individualism and special conceptions of freedom that five hundred years of European struggle had already produced.

Here, then, were the makings of a great civilization. We need not take the time to recount the details of the story of the conquest of the rich continent by that special massing of aggressive and acquisitive peoples. Suffice it to remind ourselves that they had actually taken the land between the oceans by 1880, in a tremendous succession of waves of pre-emption and settlement. Most of it between the Appalachians and the Pacific was accomplished after they shook off their British relatives (and creditors!) in the 1780's and had established a new national government. Not only the physical conquest was made but a "New Man" was produced by the procession of frontiers that moved across the continent thirty miles a year.

Because I am convinced that it is the psychology of this New Man—the American—that is the most important single

factor in the present era of social change and reconstruction, I shall take the necessary space here for a bit more of detailed study of his traits and how he was formed. And because I am equally convinced that it was the physical and psychological *climate of the frontier* more than anything else that formed his traits I shall glance quickly at a single example of frontier life. Although almost any stage from 1780 to 1880 would serve our purpose, let us visualize a bit of frontier civilization west of the Mississippi, and near the very end of its existence—let us say in the 1850's.

THE AMERICAN FRONTIER FAMILY

Note first the carrying on of physical life. The frontiersman, his wife, several children, possibly a few other adults, worked together to produce practically everything needed to keep alive. Separated by several miles from any other family and perhaps hundreds of miles from a town or city, they were a little self-sufficient community. They built their own house and buildings from the timber, stone, or clay at hand and fashioned most of their own furniture, utensils, tools, and implements. With crude wooden plows and hoes they grubbed a meager crop from the soil. They raised sheep, sheared wool, carded and spun it and wove it into linsey-woolsey which they fabricated by hand into garments. They raised animals and tanned hides, working the leather into shoes and boots.

Moreover muscles of humans and animals, supplemented in most cases by windmills and water-wheels, supplied all motive power. Man and man's wife and children were still beasts of burden.

Thus, practically all physical things were produced by hand on the homestead. Little was produced for sale. Almost no money was used. Such limited exchange as was necessary was largely by barter. Thus, "business" . . . buying and selling

. . . money-grubbing . . . money-lending . . . monopoly of necessities by special people in the community were unthinkable. In fact that agrarian frontier life was an interesting combination of a social (NOT ANTI-SOCIAL!) individualism and sympathetic cooperation.

Roads were almost totally lacking. Transport to the nearest family or town was by ox-cart or horse-drawn rig, or by "shank's mare." Communication was still largely by word of mouth, both were slow but sure. Of newspapers or magazines there were none, books were scarce, few could read; and literacy "schools" were non-existent.

Here, then, seven hundred years after the medieval British manor and two centuries after the clearing of the first American frontier was another self-sufficient "European" agrarian-handicraft community. Summing up its economic characteristics:

First In general it was a simple, compact, but roughly planned economic system. Crops, animals, food, textiles, tools—all were planned, so far as nature permitted, to supply human needs. Production fitted consumption needs fairly well. Providence favouring, there was no overproduction and no under-consumption.

Second All or practically all goods were consumed by the members of the family, they were their own market.

Third There was no problem of unemployment. There was always work to be done, and no other "owner" or "middleman" could intervene to withhold it from the laborers.

Fourth There was little exchange of goods and practically no use for buying with money. Exchange was chiefly by barter. If "money" was used, its value was fixed by face-to-face agreement. "Prices" likewise were set by direct discussion, the "values" being each party's conception of the worth of his labor and his belief in the scarcity value of his product. There

was no "interest," nor were there other "fixed charges." There were no mortgages and no bonds to be paid off. There was no danger of foreclosure or eviction. The frontiersman "owned" himself, because he "owned" the things he had to have

Fifth: It was a face-to-face social order. Problems were personal and "local." Decisions were made as a result of direct exchange of ideas. Each individual was aware of and interested in the collective problems of the community

Sixth: All control over the production distribution system resided in the farmer and his family. They "owned" the property, and they worked for themselves. *No intermediaries intervened between the energy in their resources and the goods they consumed* It was completely a producer's social order—there were no "middlemen," no money-lenders, no promoters or financiers, no credit holders. But it was a consumer's social order also, for the producers were the consumers of their own products

Seventh: *The potential as well as the actual standard of life was meager and narrow* The family was at the mercy of Nature, always on the precarious border line of danger. With muscles as the source of power the farmer could produce no more than one-tenth horsepower per day. Hence a sufficient and monotonous food supply was produced only at enormous human expense. Moreover lack of medical and sanitary knowledge and facilities increased pain and physical danger and shortened life.

Eighth: But within the limits of natural bounty *economic life was secure*, even if it was meager. It was secure because it was personally planned, controlled, and operated. Barring drought, earthquake, flood, or other act of God, the life our fathers lived was *self-sufficient and secure*.

THE "NEW MAN" PRODUCED BY THE
AMERICAN CONDITIONS

The external physical aspects of this frontier culture—house, implements, methods of production—were perhaps somewhat similar to the agrarian life of medieval or even of nineteenth-century Europe. But all else was different. In spirit, in mental outlook, in every psychological characteristic they were drastically dissimilar. Under the unique conditions we have outlined a new kind of man had been developed—a pioneering individualist, an adventurer who crossed forests, mountains, and plains to get a better living. A man of independent resourcefulness, who staked out his own land, who *felt allegiance* to no other man, a man who thought his own thoughts, made his own decisions, and insisted on his "rights," a man who tried to keep off his neighbor and to keep his neighbor off.

The virgin continent of North America, offering a succession of frontiers for well-nigh two hundred years, had by 1800 molded a sense of resourcefulness and of equality into every rising generation. For part of a generation on each frontier there were no cities, no law courts, no police, no protectors, and no exploiters. Human ingenuity, strength, courage, perseverance determined whether a man or a family lived or died.

Hence, the stratification of society which was characteristic of European life, and of the young cities everywhere to some extent, was almost of no significance.

A New Democracy in the Making

So it was that, in the new frontier communities of the United States especially, the fruition of the eight hundred years of new culture-building in Europe emerged. The traits of a dynamic democracy stood out boldly against the static

submissive psychology of the older authoritarian society. Thus people were really regarded as "equal"—that is, equal before the law . . . equal in opportunity (not, of course, equal in physique, in mentality, and the like; everybody knew people were different!) Thus the "American dream" came to pervade the people—the conviction that every human being should be given an opportunity to rise to the highest stature of which he is innately capable

That was the situation on the frontier until, perhaps, 1880. That was, I believe, the generally pervasive mood of the people in the villages and towns that arose behind the frontier as it moved across the continent. Indeed, even in the cities this unique American brand of democracy was still in the making throughout most of the nineteenth century.

SLOW INDUSTRIALIZATION OF EASTERN AMERICA,
1790-1860

But during the century of conquering and settling the land, other forces of economic and social change had been slowly gathering momentum in the growing towns and cities of the East. At the very moment that some of the vigorous, adventuring people of the Atlantic seaboard were transplanting their community living to the Ohio and Mississippi valleys others of the same energetic traits were going in for mechanical invention, road, canal, and railroad-building, factories of power machines, mining, shipping, world business. In fact all the paraphernalia of a young changing industrial society were being devised and constructed

To give only a few illustrative names and events Slater's successful duplication of British textile machines in his cotton mill at Pawtucket, Rhode Island (1792), Eli Whitney's cotton gin (1793), and Francis Lowell's loom (1814) launched

the initial making of America's first machines. To every kind of economic enterprise the American inventors tried to apply Watt's engines and the ideas behind the new machines — to steamboating, witness Fitch, Rumsey, Fulton and Stevens (1780-1810), to railroading, Cooper, Evans, Stevens, and others in the early 1800's, to the telegraph, Morse (1834-44), to the sewing machine, Howe (1845), to vulcanizing rubber, Goodyear (1844), to refining steel by blowing air through molten metal, Kelley (1846); to the reaper and other farming machines, McCormick (1831-), to leather rolling and sewing machines, McKay and others (1845-1858). Thus behind the moving frontier the beginnings of mechanical conquest were taking place in the East.

But in 1860 the United States was still a country chiefly of farms and small towns, industry as well as agriculture and business was a small-scale "family" affair. Most of the farmers worked as their frontier ancestors had done, using the old-fashioned plow, scythe, cradle, and flail. The muscles of animals and men provided the power.

There were a few large cities and many towns, and they were growing, but the real industrial growth of the country had only begun. The factories were small, turning out iron and steel goods, shoes, flour, paper, and cloth, on a very small scale. There were very few millionaires in the United States and few great corporations. Thus manufacturing, business, and farming were still small scale affairs.

AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION, 1860-1906

LAUNCHED BY THE CIVIL WAR

Then came the Civil War. In the short space of four years a new economic revolution was ushered in. In two ways the war served as a spur to vast industrial expansion — first, by an

enormous demand for manufactured goods, second, by teaching the northern industrialists the value of huge accumulations of capital

The demand of the northern generals for uniforms, guns, ammunition, locomotives, and tremendous supplies of food, expedited mass production in every basic industry. It created the ready-made clothing industry. In four years it more than tripled the amount of cotton and wool consumed annually. It revolutionized shoemaking, utilizing Howe's ideas and the McKay shoe-sewing machine. It made the reaper and other farming machines a practical success. It created the new canned-goods industry. It brought a boom in railroad-building, not only in the war zone but throughout the continent, so that great transcontinental systems joined the Pacific Ocean to lines already laid down between the Mississippi and the Atlantic

To document the story here we can do no more than note a few examples.

SPECTACULAR INCREASE IN PRODUCTION OF GOODS

Inventions

Take the increase in inventions. In the year 1860 the United States Patent Office granted 5,000 patents . . . in 1866, 9,000 . . . in 1869, 13,000 . . . after 1900 more than 25,000 per year.

The new inventions sharply changed ways of manufacturing. In iron and steel-making hundreds of machines, attachments, appliances, and implements were invented. Engines were enlarged and improved. Greater amounts of power were produced. Powerful traveling cranes were constructed, and electric and steam-shovels, shears, rollers, stamping machines, power scrapers, immense ore and coal unloaders, and furnace

charging machinery Railroad rails, steel bridge girders, engine boilers, wheels, axles, and many heavy parts of locomotives and cars were made rapidly and handled easily by the new giant machines Accurate and powerful machines for making machine parts were also invented

Standardizing Machines and Dividing Labor

Factory work itself changed The making of clothing, furniture, building materials, vehicles, even of machines themselves, became a highly specialized affair, made possible by the standardizing of machines Every copy of each part was made of exactly the same size and pattern. Even the machines that made machines were standardized.

Examples of Mass Production

Under the impetus of power-machine factory production the volume of goods produced increased enormously Note the amazing increase in the production of pig iron in 1870 less than 4,000,000 tons in 1910, 27,000,000 tons . . . in 1929, 41,000,000 tons In 1860 the United States produced less iron and steel than any other industrial nation, in 1910 it produced more than one-third of the world's total annual supply

In 1860 all manufactured products were valued at \$1,885,000,000 . . . in 1914, \$24,000,000,000 . . . in 1929, \$68,000,000,000

Take the increase in number of wage-earners in American industries . . . in 1870, 12,500,000 . . . in 1910, 35,000,000 . . . in 1930, 48,000,000

Take the transportation system. In 1860, 30,000 miles of railroad . . . in 1930, 250,000 miles The growth in automobiles was even more startling In 1900 there were only 8,000 cars in this country; in 1915, 2,000,000 . . . in 1930, 26,000,000.

Consider the expansion of farm production. The accompanying table sums it up. The value of farm implements and machines increased more than fourteen times between 1860 and 1920. Between 1870 and 1920 farm crops increased about ten times in value. Farm land increased nearly ten times

<i>Value of Farm Implements and Machines</i>		<i>Value of Farm Crops</i>	
1860 \$ 246,000,000	1870	.. \$ 1,958,000,000
1920 3,556,000,000	1920	.. 21,479,000,000

From these few examples we can glimpse the dramatic transformation that was wrought in the American economic system (and the same thing was happening in every other industrializing country after 1870) between 1860 and 1900.

But one other development launched by the Civil War did more than any other single thing to bring it about

THE MODERN CORPORATION MADE THIS POSSIBLE

The Civil War had done more than stimulate invention and manufacturing. It gave practically all of the later masters of capital the financial headstart necessary to build the great corporations of America. The war taught the prospective captains of industry (Rockefeller, Carnegie, Armour - to name only a few) that mass production could be carried on only with enormous amounts of capital concentrated in the hands of a few executives. They saw the northern government raise and put undreamed-of sums of money into bigger types of factory production. Many of the great corporate industries as well as the central banks got their start under that impetus and example. In the remaining thirty-five years of the century these infant industries expanded, capital grew, and in a ruthless warfare of competition small competitors were either bought out or driven out. Related industries were woven into

growing corporations, selling methods were improved, economies in production were achieved, and at the turn of the twentieth century a large percentage of the national production in each field had been brought together under a single management. The outline ¹ of a single example—the building of the United States Steel Corporation will suffice to show the rôle of the vertical integrated corporation in increasing the productive capacity of the worker in the period of America's industrial expansion.

- 1858 Partnership of Andrew Kloman and brothers, \$5,000 non foige
 - 1859 . . Enlarged partnership, Kloman and Phipps, capital \$6,600
 - 1864 . . Andrew Carnegie taken in as partner, Carnegie, Phipps & Co, capital \$50,000
 - 1865 . . . Carnegie merges other firms, new firm, Union Iron Mills Co, capital \$250,000
 - 1874 . . Members of Union Iron Mills Co. form partnership with railroad stockholders guaranteeing non company business
 - 1881 . . Union Iron Mills Co combined with railroads, coke manufacturers, and competing steel companies as Carnegie Brothers & Co, capital \$5,000,000.
 - 1882 . Carnegie Brothers & Co acquired coal lands, coke ovens, and stock in H. C Fick Coke Co.
 - 1892 . Carnegie company reorganized as Carnegie Steel Co., capital \$25,000,000, built Union Railroad, purchased other railroads, erected ore docks, organized a Great Lakes transport company to build and operate fleet of ore boats
 - 1901 . . . Carnegie Steel Co combined with aid of the bankers (J. P. Morgan and Company) into United States Steel Corporation, capital \$1,402,000,000.
- The corporation then owned 149 steel works, vast ore, coal, gas, and limestone properties, over 1,000 miles of railroads, and over 100 lake steamships.

¹ This outline from Rugg, *The Great Technology* (New York, The John Day Co, 1933), pp 45-46.

Here then *in one vast concern—all the resources and industries necessary for the production of completed steel products were brought together*—mines—iron ore, limestone, coal, and oil, iron and steel works, the necessary railroads, steamships, and other transport and communication agencies; as well as a tremendous selling organization. In each of the other great industries the same pyramiding of ownership and control occurred—in oil refining, in agricultural machinery, in the amalgamation of railroads, in shoes, in automobiles, and in systems of chain stores and other corporations which buy and sell in large quantities.

Thus concentration and integration of control became the chief characteristic of the development of industry after 1870. By 1928 there were ten billion-dollar corporations in the United States.

CONCENTRATION OF CONTROL OVER MONEY AND CREDIT

This tendency toward concentration of control extended to the most important factor in the entire economic system—namely, money and credit. During these years of industrial expansion the great financial houses extended their control over industry until they became the central powers in the modern industrial world. While the steel, oil, railroad, and other corporations were powerful, the center of control lay in the *banks* which controlled money and credit. In fact the banks and the chief industrial corporations became a closely knit industrial business and financial union.

In 1913 an investigating committee appointed by Congress showed that a vast proportion of the nation's capital and credit were controlled by a few leading banks in New York City. The deposits of the biggest one were then \$163,000,000, the resources of another were \$185,000,000, of a third, \$274,-

000,000, these three banks alone had known resources beyond \$622,000,000

Moreover, their officers were important directors of seven other banks, controlling additional money resources of \$968,000,000, giving \$1,600,000,000 as total banking resources under the control or influence of three banking firms in the city of New York

The report of the Committee said:

It appears that firm members or directors of these banking firms together hold

In all, 341 directorships in 85 corporations having total resources or capital of \$24,228,000,000.¹

CONCENTRATION OF CONTROL IN NATIONAL LIFE

Thus in this astonishing period of industrial expansion one thread runs through all economic life—concentration! Concentration of materials and workers in central factories . . . Concentration of people in manufacturing and business cities . . . Concentration of vast amounts of wealth making possible the financing of efficient power-machine factory production . . . Concentration of executive management in an efficient hierarchy of direction . . . Concentration of control over the economic foundations of society.

All of this made for huge productive capacity. It made for efficiency. It made for economic success.

But—it made also for devastating human problems! Those we confront in a later chapter

¹ An adaptation from a government report as quoted in Leon C. Marshall's *Readings in Industrial Society* (Chicago, the University of Chicago Press, 1913), pp. 723-725

III. Thus America Moved into the Transition Period, 1890's

And that brings us once more to our own times—to the years since the 1890's that we have called the Great Transition. The story continues from our statement in Chapter II. Turn back to it, and note the conspicuous trends that, as we said there, “stand as witnesses to the passing of the first stage of industrial-democratic society.” In addition to the revolutionary inventions and their outcome in the corporate mass production of goods, note: the passing of the last frontier . . . the change in immigration from northwestern (“Nordic”) Europe to southern and eastern Europe . . . the change from a growing population to a stationary one . . . the enormous concentration of our people in manufacturing cities . . . the decline in the size of the family and changes in its rôle in the culture . . . the virtual completion of the structure of schools of literacy . . . the completion of the democratic machinery of the suffrage and the entrance of women into all economic and social enterprises . . . the final stage of incorporation of the American economic system into an interdependent world system of production and distribution.

A POTENTIALLY EFFICIENT TECHNICAL CIVILIZATION EMERGES

From the vantage point of our present knowledge we can be sure that even if the World War had been postponed beyond 1914–1918 these advances of social trend would have precipitated our people into a definitely new stage of industrialism by the 1940's or 1950's. But the war did come, multiplying invention and the facilities of quantity production in America several fold. Under its stimulus as well as of that of deeper rooted trends economic research and invention themselves were subjected to methods of mass production.

Vast Increase in Human Productivity

As the years since 1900 passed—1910 . . . 1914–1918 . . . 1920–1929—every phase of the economic system became more productive—the energy-converting power of engines, the integration of power, machines, and processes in technically organized factory production, the productivity of human labor. Consider some examples, first some gains in the fumbling Machine Age, then the more sensational increases in our current transitional years.

As for the former, take cotton spinning in the United States Before 1764 the number of spindles operated per worker in the industry was one In 1831 it was twenty . . . in 1850, it was forty . . . in 1900, sixty . . . in 1925, eighty.

Take cotton weaving. A good week's work in the old days with a hand loom was forty-five yards In 1900 a machine weaver running four looms could weave 1,500 yards in a week In 1902 I worked as a weaver in a New England mill. A single worker could then run four such looms on an eleven and one-half hour a day schedule. Today, if I were a weaver in a modern mill I would be on an eight-hour schedule and tending more than 100 looms if the plant made use of all of the best known machinery. (Engineers report that it would now be possible for a single weaver to run 200 looms.)

Bogart contrasts a production per worker using hand tools, of four bushels of grain in 1830 with fifty bushels per worker using machines, in 1880.

Hobson gives the contrasts in time required to produce an acre of several different grains for the period of about 1830 with that of 1895 in the table on page 96.

Summing up the early gains, as long ago as 1886 the United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics reported that with 4,000,000 workers American industry was then producing

TIME WORKED IN HOURS

	By Hand, 1830	By Machine, 1895
Wheat	61	3
Corn	39	15
Rice	62	17
Oats	66	7
Bailey	64	3

as much as could be turned out by 21,000,000 in pre machine days.

But the gains in productive capacity of our machines and power-machine factories of the initial industrial stage were puny compared to the gains made after 1900 and especially after the beginning of the World War, 1914. To cite a few examples.

As for power production—by 1929 single electric generators were producing 300,000 horse power, and, because the generators ran twenty-four hours a day, producing 9,000,000 times as much as an able-bodied man (one-tenth horse-power) could in an eight-hour day. That our Great Transition is rapidly becoming an Electrical Age is shown by these figures. In 1899 the total horsepower in electrical motors in the United States was 493,000 . . . in 1927 it was 30,000,000. In 1899 industry was 5 per cent electrified, in 1927, 78 per cent. *Recent Economic Changes* reported for the four industries of mining, agriculture, manufactures and railways such gains in productivity per worker as.

Index number for 1898-1900	100
Index number for 1924-26	178

For eleven basic industries the respective index numbers (which were stated as 100 in 1914) had become in 1926—
 310 . . . 311 . . . 177 . . . 158 . . . 160 . . . 139 . . .
 127 . . . 128 . . . 127 . . . 126 . . . 117

In an authoritative volume¹ issued under the auspices of the Federal government in 1937, the National Resources Committee reports new statistics of gain in the whole nation's capacity to produce up to 1935 as follows. Taking production figures for the year 1920 as a base index number of 100—the corresponding numbers for 1935 are

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| 1. For amount of goods produced | 114 (But in 1929, 146) |
| 2. For man-years of actual employment | 82 |
| 3. For amount produced per employee,
man-year | .. 139 |
| 4. For employee man-years required to
produce a unit of production | . . . 72 |

The historical curves that measure the recent growth in the worker's capacity are all positively accelerating, with high exponents, some very high. "The number of man-days worked in the industries of the United States dropped nearly 20 per cent between 1920 and 1929, although output increased about 6 per cent," said the Federal government's National Resources Committee as late as 1937.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING

This brief review of the astonishing advances in productive capacity in the nation's economic system puts one question sharply before us. With America's vast resources, powerful machine technology and efficient personnel, what standard of living can now be given to our people?

The most complete investigation of this problem is the one conducted by the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity in 1934 and 1935.² Skilled engineers under the

¹ *Technological Trends and National Policy*, Superintendent of Public Documents, Washington, D. C. No teacher's or school's library should be without this book. \$1.00 paper bound. Also the 1938 volume—*Problems of a Changing Population*. 75 cents paper bound.

² See *The Chart of Plenty*, The National Survey of Potential Product Capacity (New York, Viking Press, 1935). More complete statistics are given

national government tried to find the total value of the *consumers'* goods and services available to all of the American people in 1929. By adding together (1) *the value of the physical things produced* (such as food, wearing apparel, houses, furniture and furnishings, cigars and cigarettes, etc.), and (2) *the value of personal services* (those of servants, barbers, social clubs, and the like), a figure of approximately \$96,000,000,000¹ was obtained.

Now, if this \$96,000,000,000 had been divided equally among all American families, what kind of standard of living would each one have had? In 1929 there were approximately 27,500,000 families of two or more persons. So in that year each family could have had something more than \$3,000 worth of goods and services to use in its everyday life. That means that every family *could have had* a fairly good standard of living—if the goods and services actually produced had been divided up equally among them.

There is, however, still another way to answer our question. What is America's capacity to satisfy the peoples' desires and needs? If our economic system had been run to its real capacity during 1929, each family could have received a standard of living higher than even the figure of \$3,000. But the system was not run to capacity, hence the amount actually produced, even in 1929, was less than it could have been.

Two important investigations have been made to show that. The first is the *National Survey of Potential Product Capacity* already referred to. I shall call this investigation, "The Engineers' Study of Capacity." The second was made by a

in the *Report of the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity* (New York City Housing Authority, 1935)

¹ There are several other studies of this problem, such as that of the Brookings Institution, *America's Capacity to Produce*, which do not arrive at the same figure as that of the National Survey. For example, the Brookings' study reported a total value of goods and services in 1929 of \$81,000,000,000. As a result of the careful analysis of the differences in statistics, I shall take the National Survey estimate as the best one.

group of economists at the Brookings Institution. We shall call this "The Economists' Study of Capacity."

The Engineers' study states a national total of production capacity of \$135,000,000,000, and a family round-number total of \$4,500 to \$5,000 a year.

The Economists' study states a national total of \$96,000,000,000, and a family total of \$3,200 to \$3,500 a year.

The Engineers' Study shows that the efficiency of the production system could have been raised by 40 per cent, the Economists' study, by 19 per cent.

At this point we need not pause to compare and discuss the difference in these estimates—19 per cent against 40 per cent. The important fact for us to remember is that both investigations agree that the American economic system could have produced considerably more than it actually did in 1929—the year of greatest production. They both agree that the system today *can produce* enough goods and services to give every American family better than the "adequate-diet standard of living at moderate cost" estimated by the United States Department of Agriculture to be approximately \$3,000 per year.

This far we can go, then. We can say positively that, not only are the natural and human resources and the machine technology available to produce a high standard of living on our continent—but, more important than that—the people could have it now.

In the summer of 1929 the President of the United States, Mr. Hoover, and his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon, went on record in pronouncements to the American people that "Prosperity would be permanent." "We shall soon," Mr. Hoover said, "with the help of God, be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation." American workers were coming to believe that they would never be without jobs and high wages. To them our America was indeed "the best of all possible worlds."

*AT LAST—ON THE VERGE OF ABUNDANCE,
DEMOCRACY AND INTEGRITY
OF EXPRESSION*

This, as completely and directly as I can say it in seventy pages, is the course that the Europeans followed in turning a poverty-stricken, ignorant, local, agrarian culture into a potentially rich, intelligent, cosmopolitan, industrial one.

Certainly the summary record of its achievements is impressive.

First The physical structure set up of a technically powerful and efficient production system.

Second The world's highest standard of living. Expressed merely in pecuniary terms its worth, measured by a daily family income of several dollars is far superior to the income of several cents a day either of earlier civilizations or of those of contemporary non-industrial peoples.

Third The length of its people's life almost doubled in a century and a half, from an average of our agrarian forefathers of thirty-five years in 1789, to one of forty-six years in 1900, and to one of over sixty years today. And the end is not in sight. The 1938 report of the National Resources Committee¹ estimates an average length of life for the American people in 1980 of seventy years. Thus the 300 years of continent-conquering has already turned the "young" populations of new countries into distinctly "mature" populations. (New Zealand's average length of life is even now sixty-five, the highest in the world.)

Fourth: The working day of fourteen and twelve hours of agrarian and early industrial days, and of eleven hours and ten hours in 1900 is already reduced to an average of eight hours generally throughout the country with seven hours in the larger cities. Correspondingly fatigue and pain is steadily

¹ *Problems of a Changing Population.*

being eliminated from the production of food, shelter, clothing, and the operation of transportation, communication, and the like.

Fifth Almost complete stamping out of dangerous diseases, such as smallpox, yellow fever, malaria, diphtheria, anthrax, cholera, and important beginnings in the scientific prevention as well as cure of disease generally

Sixth Provision of a startling variety of creative and appreciative activities for the increased leisure which the people are enjoying

Seventh The elementary education of all the children of all the people—resulting in the literacy of 90-odd per cent of the population

Eighth The completion of the structure of an amazingly efficient means of instantaneous communication, making it possible for popular leaders and their people to keep constantly in touch with one another, for ideas and attitudes to be conveyed from community to community, even from continent to continent.

Ninth The establishment of the foundations of the scientific method of inquiry ¹ and its mass applications in a growing body of endowed research institutions with the consequent marked progress of enlightenment among the people.

Tenth A marked climate of opinion already developed throughout the nation, the tone of which sounds the defense of the personal freedom of the individual; thus important advances have been achieved in the building of "The American Way" of democracy with the free play of intelligence as its foundation

Eleventh In every medium of expression the creative artist has begun to build authentic American art. We stand on the verge of a golden age of creative utterance.

¹ See Chapter VIII for a brief sketch of the tremendous advance of the creative study and expression of Man and his changing society.

In the light of these achievements of the western mind and mood, is it any wonder that in the summer of 1929 people were acclaiming American culture as "the best of all possible worlds"?

Chapter IV

STRAINS AND PROBLEMS OF A DEPRESSED SOCIETY¹

※ ※ ※

OCTOBER, 1929, IMPENDING COLLAPSE¹

Then, between October 24 and 29, 1929, shocking things happened to our prosperous America. It all began in the stock market. Prices of stocks and bonds tumbled precipitously. Thousands of personal fortunes were wiped out within a week's time. Crazy men, made poor overnight, killed themselves. Panic seized the people who had been "speculating" in stocks, hundreds of thousands, some said two millions, of Americans had been drawn into the mad orgy of trying to get something for nothing. Most of these speculators lost all that they had made in the 1920's.

Fear spread over the country in 1930 . . . 1931 . . . 1932. As the people heard and read more about the panic, they began to save what money they had, to withdraw the money they had placed in banks, and to buy only those goods that they needed to keep alive. As that happened, the business of stores and factories declined. Job-holders worked only part of the time, at first they were cut to four days a week, then to three, to two, finally many were told they were needed no longer. As the stores sold fewer things, orders to wholesalers and manufacturers became smaller. One by one factories closed, a general and rapid decline in the production of goods resulted.

¹ This chapter was written by Harold Rugg

As more factories, offices, and stores closed their doors, more millions of men and women were thrown out of work, witness the figures showing the increase in unemployment:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number Estimated as Unemployed</i>
1929	2,000,000 (in the year of greatest "prosperity")
1930	5,000,000 (in the first year of depression)
1931	9,000,000
1932	12,000,000 to 14,000,000
1933	13,000,000 to 17,000,000
1937	11,000,000 to 14,000,000 (Federal Unemployment Census)

Taking all kinds of business together, the nation's payroll decreased sharply; between 1929 and 1932 the amount of money paid for wages in mining, manufacturing, construction, and transportation dropped 60 per cent¹ In 1929, even during the peak of prosperity, the average income of a farm family had been only \$648. By 1932 it was only \$352. Some factories had children working for as little as \$2 a week. Half of the women in some textile and clothing industries worked for \$5 to \$6 a week, many of them for much less; the median wage in South Carolina was \$9.65 for a fifty-five hour week. In Illinois candy workers accustomed to \$18 to \$25 per week were getting \$5 to \$7.

These facts of workers' incomes are harsh enough. But they became intolerable when it was known that owners' incomes in the same years had actually increased¹ As a single objective bit of data to witness that affirmation.

Taking the level of wages paid to workers and dividends and interest paid to owners in 1926 as 100 we get for the years 1926-1932 inclusive ¹

¹ The sources for these data are the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the statistical work is vouched for by the reliable Standard Statistics Corporation. Reported by Prof. Paul H. Douglas, "Whose Depression," *The World Tomorrow*, January, 1933.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Relative Amounts Paid Out in Wages (1926 = 100)</i>	<i>Relative Amounts Paid Out in Interest and Dividends (1926 = 100)</i>
1926	100	100
1927 .	97	129
1928 . .	95	137
1929	100	176
1930 .	80	196
1931 .	60	187
1932 . . .	38 (estimate)	169

Meanwhile, people who had lost their jobs tramped from place to place in search of new ones. Failing to find them, they became more and more bewildered, finally they lost their courage. Even those who did not lose their jobs underwent a change in spirit, as their wages were reduced, they too suffered from the increase of worry. They feared that they too would lose their jobs. They worried about accidents and ill health. Their children were affected, too. With fathers out of work, physical, mental, and moral welfare of children declined.

Thus by the winter of 1933, with thirteen million or more people out of work and a sixth of our population confronting starvation unless "relief" could be given them, the country was at the very depths of what the historians began to call "The Great Depression." As people were beginning to mutter, the condition of America was "simply incredible"! The 1929 "best of all possible worlds" had fallen to the very depths of poverty and starvation in January, 1933.

"PRIMING THE PUMP"

We need not be reminded at great length of the efforts of the Roosevelt government after March, 1933, to build up the morale of the people, to give relief to millions lacking purchasing power, to bolster up banks and utilities, to create

made-work for millions of unemployed. In general, important attempts were made to "prime the pump" of a potentially rich but actually collapsing economic system. For nine years it has continued, with a let-down only in 1937, and a consequent so-called major "recession" until 1938.

By and large the volume of production did revive—was indeed practically as large in the spring of 1937 as in the summer of 1929. And yet eight million people were still out of work! By November, 1937, it was not less than eleven million, with additional millions working on part time

The pump simply would not "prime"!

Steadily the facts piled up to confirm our earlier stated hypothesis that *western industrial-democratic culture, passing with dramatic suddenness out of the first period of accelerating expansion, had run into a long interregnum of continual depression. It was becoming a depressed society!* But most of our dazed and bewildered politicians accustomed to thinking only in terms of "progress" and expansion could not—still cannot—grasp the possibility that we were entering a new stage in the development of modern society. They continued to speak with the habitual vocabulary of the Victorian era of expansion. "make goods scarce" . . . "restrict production and raise prices" . . . "expand production" . . . "let the central banks do it" . . . "get government out of and off of business" . . . "try *laissez-faire*" . . . and the like.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND BREAKDOWN IN CHARACTER

Thus a potentially powerful society revealed the characteristics of a thoroughly "depressed" one! What does that mean for public morale? As we have seen, it means mines and factories idle or running on part time, stores empty, offices closed, millions on relief, billions for WPA, hungry children fed at school, families put out on the streets in winter because they

cannot pay their rent. But, dreadful as such things are, they are merely external signs. More fundamental than these is their effect upon the minds and characters of men, women, and young people, and therefore upon the character of the nation.

A vast library of dramatic incident could be assembled to show the influence of an unplanned economic order upon the character of a people. Here are five samples.

- 1 MR. TIORSI You are a hand laster. You make good money. You are respected. *Va bene*. Upon the smallest hillside one may reap the vine. Your children are around you. You are the patriarch.

But ladies in a sudden madness want many kinds of shoes: red shoes, white shoes, plaited shoes, straw shoes, pumps, buckles, alligator, the little lizard that runs on the wall. *Va bene*. Let them have them. The world is a bridal blizzard of cast-away shoes. Who wants the excellent boot for endurance? Moreover, the wits of man have devised a machine.

Are you a patriarch longer?

Your children go out to work. Your wife scolds and nags you. You are no good. You are no man. You seek an end. Shall it be hanging? Will you stand on a chain, fix a rope, and kick the chain away? This is forbidden by the church. Is your mind then unhinged? ¹

+ * *

- 2 HARRY TOWNE OF CHICAGO You drive a truck for a newspaper. You are strong as an ox. You are unmarried. You live in a boarding-house. There you are admired. Why not? Your aim is magnificent. You lunge at the world with tales of news. Men could not live without you. Through the roar of the Loop, you rage your iron horses. You ford the fierce river of the Boulevard. You have no time for the Tiepolo blue of the lake, or for its silver gulls that swoon down upon the sand. You are busy. You are young Chicago. Were it not for you, could the *Tribune* sustain its towers?

¹ Clinch Calkins, *Some Folks Won't Work* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1930), p. 135.

It can and does. You are fired. You the zealot, the evangelist, the public servant. But he lied who said that for the zealot one job is as good as another. You were important; you served Chicago with its morning paper. Today you have no importance. You were not needed. You merely thought you were. You were a goof. But there are no more jobs of any kind. Your sister gives you food. But you cannot eat. What? A man, grown, fed by a woman? They say you act queer. The family gathers together. They consult and decide. They convene doctors who bludge, whisper, and recede.

"Nervous breakdown," they say. "He won't get well until he gets a job. How old did you say he was? Twenty-five. Queer. Pretty young."¹

* * *

3. SKILLED CARPENTER. Age not given. Two children, third expected. When unemployed willing to do anything, clean up yards, housecleaning, etc. Family forced to receive all necessities of life from charity.²

* * *

4. CARPENTER. Aged forty. Three children. Various substitute jobs: electric wiring, making radio cabinets, planting trees, etc. Skilful management. Savings used. Payments overdue on house. Insurance policies sold to pay property taxes. Two boarders taken. Wife works in factory when she can get a job. Housework afterward.³

* * *

5. PAINTER AND DECORATOR. Two children, one married. Son aged nineteen, truck driver, unemployed. Fine couple, hard working and provident. Formerly always able to weather dull seasons with savings. Had been able to pay \$2000 down on \$5000 house, and had paid off all but \$1700 in monthly installments when unemployment struck them. They also owned a Hupmobile. Wife has helped by cooking out and taking care of confinements. Took in boarders. Car laid up. Payments on house and union dues lapsed. Insurance carried by accumulated

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

dividends. Enough money borrowed from friends to save house
Food cut to \$4 a week for three people ¹

These are only five episodes of the psychological effect of
the depression . . . five out of fifty thousand . . . five out
of five million . . . five out of nobody knows how many.

THE DECLINE IN PUBLIC MORALE

What happens to the mind and spirit of the man who has
lost his job? With the first announcement that he is no longer
wanted comes, perhaps, astonishment. As prolonged efforts
to find a new job fail, this is succeeded by bewilderment.
Gradually the mood solidifies into discouragement. Finally
anxiety assails the man as he wearily tiamps from plant to
plant, shop to shop, store to store.

With lack of food, increase of worry and lack of sleep, re-
sistance breaks down. A feeling of lassitude and inertia grows.
He hangs around street corners with the other unemployed.
Listless discussion augments individual fears into crowd anx-
ieties. Steadily the fine on-going temper of the working com-
munity slows down, disintegrates. Mental control slackens.
Rumors are magnified. Fear seizes upon the community.
Agencies of communication in the modern world spread over-
night these rumors, doubts, fears, augmenting, even multi-
plying to the *n*th degree, their power over the minds of the
people.

Mental disintegration leads step by step to moral break-
down. To save their enterprises and to maintain their position
in the economic and social world both little and big business
men resort to practices which, under normal conditions, they
would never have employed. The honest, respected leader in
the church, as well as the unskilled laborer on the street, un-
knowingly develops a new set of moral principles. Each con-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45

fesses that he would not return to its owner a pocketbook full of money which he found upon the street. Self-respecting and respected citizens turn to boot-legging as a source of income. House-owners steal from the neighboring grocery store to feed starving children

Worse than that! In spite of vigorous efforts by the Federal government—CWA, PWA, WPA, FERA, CCC, NYA, and the like—we appear to be producing a huge “class” of inert, indifferent, “What’s-the-use?” people. In the summer of 1938 we heard this mood expressed all over the country—in homes, on street corners, in bars, in lodge rooms, on busses and trains. Witness snatches of comment by youth and their elders

“Sure, I’m on WPA. I know it’s a racket, but I’ll never get another job.” . . . “The only way to make a living these days is to have some kind of a racket” . . . “What’s the use of looking for a job? Everybody knows there aren’t any.” . . . “I know I’ll never get a job again, but why complain? It’s nobody’s fault—these are hard times. I hope they get better by the time my kids grow up” . . . “What’s the difference who we vote for? All the politicians just look out for themselves.” . . . “Why should I care whether my children graduate or not? They can’t get jobs; might as well be in school as on the street”

I can only conclude that a large and growing body—I think it is already several millions—of our people have “just given up”—they are unhappy and disgruntled, but they do not have the slightest intention of doing anything about it

Thus economic depression brings down upon the morale of the people an epidemic of demoralization, a general breakdown in character.

WHAT HAPPENS TO THE CHILDREN OF A
DEPRESSED SOCIETY? ¹

Even when the parents have fairly regular employment at the low wages of prosperity periods the health condition of the nation's youth is serious indeed. According to recent researches of the United States Office of Education, at least 6,500,000 children (nearly one-quarter of the thirty million pupils now attending school) are suffering from physical handicaps, such as weak hearts, tuberculosis, impaired sight and hearing, defective speech, and under-nourishment. The United States Public Health Service, after studying the health of 33,000 white school children in 1930, found that 66 per cent of the children had decayed teeth, 32 per cent had defective vision, and 31 per cent had bad tonsils. According to the Bureau of Home Economics of the United States Department of Labor, approximately 16,000,000 families, 67 per cent of the American people, are compelled to exist on an emergency or subsistence diet.

How much worse does the condition become under a crisis such as that we now face! The undernourished child loses alertness, cannot learn easily. The worried child is unable to put his mind on his studies. Thus the depression undermines the educational morale of the nation. A recent national report says "Unemployment, because it means lowered family standards, anxiety and dread, the loss of savings, and the mortgaging of the future, has a direct and disastrous effect upon the welfare of children."

THE SCHOOLS, THE ONLY RECOURSE

The schools, in company with other social agencies of the nation, attempt to step into the breach. Children of working

¹ Only a brief introduction to this problem is given here, see Dr. Zachry's Chapter V for the principal discussion.

age unable to find employment remain in school longer. Hundreds of thousands of little children, unable to get sufficient food at home, are fed free lunches. Clothing is given to them. Hundreds of thousands of young people, formerly brought up in self-reliance, gradually take on the attitude of their elders. They are dependent upon the community for charity. No longer are they happy, superior persons, rather they are worried, inferior, humiliated youth, uncertain of themselves, uncertain of the world about them. Witness what George V. Sheviakov, reporting on a study of adolescents employed on part time projects of the NYA, conducted by the Progressive Education Association, said of them:

Probably the most prominent characteristic . . . was the lack of self-confidence. Even the well poised, even the unquestionably very superior and gifted youths complained about their shyness and lack of self-confidence . . . It was astounding to learn what insecure people our culture produces. It is reasonable to assume that the group studied has more insecurities—that these people are constantly threatened by the reality situation in which they face unemployment, discontinuation of WPA and NYA, cuts in the Home Relief Budget, etc. Furthermore, the underprivileged youths have fewer means of bolstering their morale by decent clothes, attractive home surroundings, etc. Finally, it is a generation which grew up in families which, some six or seven years ago, had suffered a shock, families in which the self-respect of the father and the respect of the mother for her husband had suffered a painful blow. They come from homes in which humiliation is a constant boarder.

Having no sure loyalties to which to tie, no constructive jobs and careers to grip their minds, these young people became loose in moral control. Delinquency leads to petty misdemeanors, to the forming of gangs and before long to major crimes and to confirmed criminals.

Confronted by such a problem, we turn in the last analysis to education as our surest step for reconstruction. More than ever before, the schools face increased responsibility. As a

recent report of the National Education Association, *Childhood and the Depression*, says

A child who discovers that his father is out of a job, that the rent is due, and that no one knows where to get money for groceries has lost that sense of protection that should surround him at all times. The personality and character of such a child may suffer permanent scars from these experiences. Even if he escapes permanent injury the child needs an unusual amount of skilled and sympathetic treatment at school. Under such conditions the school must become much more than an instructional center. It must be the steady influence to which the child can confidently turn in time of need.

THESE CONDITIONS ARE CHARACTERISTIC OF SOCIAL TRANSITION

Briefly described, these are the incredible conditions that have swept over our rich America since 1929.

Now educators and statesmen generally will be better armed for the staggering tasks of design and reconstruction which are ahead if they will approach them with one conviction: this current "great transition" into a depressed society was utterly to be expected. Matters could not have turned out otherwise at the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century. The initial period of accelerating "progressive" industrialism had run its course. The World War simply accelerated the inevitable aftermath of stalled economic systems, frustrated political designs, an interregnum of dictatorship, a breakdown of established loyalties. The rushing current of social change in an expanding society could have left no other kind of transitional period once its initial momentum slackened. Mental and emotional confusion as well as economic and political blockage was sure to result.

And this brings us back to our most important task—the discussion of The American Problem and its study by our people, young and old. Let us restate it from Chapter II: "to

bring forth on this continent—in the form of a cooperative commonwealth—the civilization of economic abundance, democratic behavior and creative expression which is now potentially available.”

I. THE PROBLEM OF ABUNDANCE

THE TRAGIC INADEQUACY OF THE DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM

Three phases stand out clearly—abundance . . . democracy . . . expression—and the first of these is abundance. This is the problem of building a distribution system that will give to the people *the purchasing power needed (1) for an adequate diet standard of living; ¹ that is, \$3000 per family of five per year, (2) to enable them to buy the goods produced and keep the system running*. That it is a critical problem is established beyond question by many objective reports and investigations concerning the division of the national social income. I cite only a few of the most extensive and reliable ones.

According to one of the most reliable studies of the income of the American people during 1929—that made by the Brookings Institution ²—the *total income* of all of the people was approximately \$93,000,000,000. Of this amount the 27,500,000 families of two or more persons received \$77,000,000,000. If this \$77,000,000,000 had been divided evenly among the 27,500,000 families, each family would have received \$2800. Actually, however, the income was not thus divided. On the contrary, the distribution of it was so uneven that

¹ This standard is the one originated by the Bureau of Home Economics of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. See the Department's Circular No. 296.

² Maurice Leven, Harold G. Moulton, and Clark Warburton, *America's Capacity to Consume* (Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1934).

16,300,000 families—60 per cent of all—
received less than \$2000
21,500,000 families—78 per cent of all—
received less than \$3000.

From these facts we see also that *more than three-fourths* of our American families did not get the \$3200 which America's powerful economic system had the capacity to give them! (The Engineers' Study said they could have received \$4700!)

In fact, 11,650,000 families—42 per cent of all—received less than \$1500 per year. Note this was *less than one-half of what they could have gotten!*

This is even more startling. The division of America's total income among the 27,500,000 families in the prosperity year of 1929 was so uneven that

one-tenth of one per cent—36,000 rich families—
received as much as did 42 per cent—11,650,000 poor families

The Brookings' investigation cited above was a kind of "blanket" study for the whole United States. It took in all of the 27,500,000 families, but made a detailed study of none.

But other investigators have made very careful studies of small groups of families. Fortunately, some of these were made for more typical years than 1929, in which more goods were produced than in any other year in our history. According to their careful surveys, what standard of living did our people actually get? I have space to quote conclusions only; for example

- the Lynds' study of "Middletown" in 1924 showed half of the people getting less than \$1500 per year per family
- the New York Department of Labor study (1929) gave an average annual family income of \$1470
- the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics study in Detroit, 1930, gave an average of \$1711.

There are many other reliable investigations. All are in approximate agreement on the conclusion that the bulk of the American families, *even in the past prosperity years*, had to get their entire living out of an income of less than \$1500 a year.

But the actual average family income under the conditions of a depressed society is nearer to \$1000! A report of the National Resources Committee just off the press (September, 1938) states that

in the fiscal year 1935-36 one-third of America's families and individual consumers had less than \$780 income, one-half had less than \$1070, two-thirds less than \$1459, nine-tenths less than \$2500.

Finally, for all non-farm families, the Bureau of Home Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture summed up its study saying:

"16 million, or 74 per cent, did not have sufficient income in 1929 to provide an adequate diet at moderate cost. Nineteen million, or 90 per cent, were not in a position to enjoy a liberal diet"

A BIFURCATED SOCIETY THE "HAVES" AGAINST THE "HAVE-NOTS"

Certainly the fact is established that the American people are receiving a niggardly distribution from a potentially efficient productive system, and that while a few have "enough" the preponderance do not. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that our America, with some twenty-odd millions who appear to be developing into what may be a permanently unemployed class, seems to be becoming a bifurcated society—a House of the "Haves" against the "Have-Nots"—a national house divided against itself. Certainly it is beset by drastic internal cleavages and faces perhaps a generation of continuous

and growing "depression." The "Haves" themselves appear to be divided into two classes of owners. The former include a small body of owners of Big Property who, only one to two generations ago, themselves arose in the social order—and by their own efforts—from the so-called lower-middle classes to a position of dictatorial control over economic and political organized life and over the admiration and allegiance of the masses. Associated with them are a larger body of owners of Little Property who emulate their more successful fellows in our competitive society and aspire to equal their wealth and power. Against these two is arrayed a small number of vigorous opponents, comprising progressives, liberals, and labor groups who would impose a vast amount of social control on the property and power of the "Haves."

Thus, I say, our social order appears to be entering a period of perpetual depression. Certainly the study of recent trends is convincing that the body politic now faces the prospect of many years of conflict between the "Haves" and *those who are troubled about the condition of the "Have-Nots"*. I repeat—not primarily between the "Haves" and the "Have-Nots," for the latter are docile and accept things as they are, but between the "Haves" and those vigorous persons-with-a-social-conscience who are troubled about the condition of the "Have-Nots" and are determined to do something about it.

Thus the problem of abundance, although enormously complicated in detail, reduces essentially to one thing—namely, finding a way to increase, in fact to more than double, the family purchasing power now delivered to the bulk of our people. While, therefore, not pretending that we possess the detailed solution for this staggering problem, we are convinced as to the priority of certain imperatives. The most urgent one is that of making a vigorous advance toward meeting *the problem of the control of the economic system*.

II THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

We move on then to the second phase of The American Problem—namely, *democracy*, for that is basically the problem of social control. Regardless of how we phrase the statement of the problem, it is essentially that of the relations of the individual and the social group. Even to outline the problem adequately would require an elaborate chapter; only a preface to it can be written here.

THREE FACTS INDIVIDUALISM, INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES, INTERDEPENDENCE

Bring into one picture three facts in the light of the history of individualism and corporate power-machine production which we have outlined

First The fact that in our kind of society the people are ego-centric competing individualists—driven by fears of economic insecurity and everlasting drives for power and social prestige.

Second The fact of interdependence. These competing individualists are living in a world society of continents, regions, and communities so inextricably tied together by specialization of natural resources and of production, by a fragile interlocking system of “free markets,” transport, and communication that changes in any one part of the mechanism quickly radiate changes into other remote parts

Third The fact of individual differences, that the people vary enormously in energy, in ambition, in intelligence, in resourcefulness—in the very traits that go to produce their individualism. Every population reveals the long and the short, the strong and the weak, the domineering and the submissive, the dynamic and the inert, the adventurous and the timid—and for every trait, a vast mediocrity between the ex-

tremes. This fact—this “law”—of individual differences lies at the very heart of the problem of building a cooperative commonwealth from a population of competing individuals.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN PEOPLE ARE LEFT FREE
TO EXPLOIT THINGS OR OTHER PEOPLE¹

History has proved if you start a group of people equal in any enterprise and let them compete for honors, jobs, land, money, power, what-not—in a short time a few who are brighter and shrewder, more vigorous and ambitious will have the best jobs, the best land, and most of the money and will control the others. They will be the “leaders”—the “important people”—while the mass of the group will be “followers” . . . “the common men” . . . “the men-on-the-street” In every tribe, clan, family, and nation, in every civilization of which we have any record that has been true. It is as much a “law” of social psychology as is the “law” of individual differences, it is indeed the corollary of that “law”

Illustrated by the Conquest of America

Every chapter of the dramatic tale of the conquest of the North American continent documents the “law.” In one lap of the westward movement after another hundreds of thousands of pioneers rushed in and staked it out

What happened? Did they remain free and equal? They did not In the growth of every township, every county, every city, and every state, a few people—the most energetic, ambitious, and shrewd—got most of the land including the best land—the land on which the “main street” was built, the land where the railroad ran A few, generally those who went into buying and selling rather than farming or crafts or the professions, soon “led” the others. They bought and sold land always for a profit. They made money and invested it in more

land. They "promoted" new things, acting as agent and seller rather than owner and developer. They let other people do the manual labor and the difficult first stages of building up a farm or business. When "hard times" came to the country—as happened every few years—these "business men" with surplus money ("capital") lent money on farms, houses, stores, and other property, took mortgages as security. They knew that their money would make money much faster than the strength of their muscles or their professional skill could, or those of their neighbors. It did!

As the years passed these "successful" men—those with more money—became the "big men" . . . "the important people" . . . "the best families." And, as in each of the European centers these more intelligent, vigorous, ambitious, persistent men became "the government" also. Some actually held the offices in town, state and nation. Others were content to operate invisible government behind the scenes—giving advice to political henchmen which was almost invariably followed.

That is how history has repeated itself in Europe and in her new countries around the world. All were built up on the idea of *laissez-faire*—only recently partially qualified by tentative types of control. It all confirmed Darwin's idea, providing another example of "the survival of the fittest."

This brief reference to history taken with the facts of the maldistribution of the national income is convincing that we dare not longer leave those persons who have happened to inherit a surplus of intelligence, ambition, energy, and other drives that lead to "success," free to exploit their neighbors without let or hindrance. We must now impose sufficient restrictions upon them to guarantee a continuous operation of the social system and a humane and efficient division of the social income. How far that social control shall extend and how much it must be accompanied by the socialization of

ownership no person living today can now state. These are insistent unanswered questions to which a vast amount of creative energy must be given and without delay.

THE CRITICAL ALTERNATIVES WHICH TYPE OF CONTROL?

But there is one supreme question of social control that is of vital concern to educators, in fact, its study is primarily their province and its answer their obligation. It is. "How shall this control over the more capable exploiting individual be established?" A thousand years of history have revealed two types—the two in fact that we discussed in Chapter III and shall discuss more thoroughly in several later chapters of this book

First Authoritarian Control

Second Democratic Control

First Control can be imposed from the outside by a body in authority forcibly restricting or compelling the individual. This is Dictatorship . . . Rule by One Man . . . the rule of the Oligarchy . . . Authoritarian Control. As we have seen, throughout recorded history with a few conspicuous exceptions, this has been the characteristic form of control. Not only has it been the characteristic form of political government, it has also been the characteristic form of control in all social groups including the educational systems set up by modern as well as ancient states.

Second Democratic control. The consideration of this type brings us directly to the crux of educational reconstruction. It is not imposed upon a people by a central outside authority. On the contrary, *it is developed from within by the effort of the individuals themselves*. A vast discipline is imposed ruthlessly upon the individual, but it is self-imposed and hence is the only kind that is constructively educative. Every in-

stance of self-imposed discipline produces in the individual a greater spirit of and skill in cooperation. The chief reason is that it builds a new conception of self-powers and a new conception of freedom within the individual. On the one hand, it releases the individual man and woman to build his own effectual intelligence and appreciative awareness; that is, it practices self-expression. On the other hand, it builds sensitiveness to the needs and rights and capacities of others. Under such a régime the individual is made responsible for his utterance, including its control, thus there is built the conviction that every man's freedom leaves off where his neighbor's begins. The bounds to each individual's action are set therefore cooperatively and voluntarily—not by the imposed dictates of authority.

Dictatorship Challenges Democracy

In considering these two types of control we are not raising an academic issue. On the contrary, another dangerous interregnum of dictatorship has broken in on several hundred years of march toward democracy! Twenty years after the close of the first World War "to end all wars" and "to make the world safe for democracy," the free-swinging march of the peoples of the world toward democracy has given way to the goose-step of the dictators. In a score of countries ruthless ambitious rulers have seized power. By violence and the deceit of propaganda they have abolished parliaments and competing parties. They rule by fear and force, persecuting, banishing, killing their opponents. They stamp on freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of productive work, freedom of thought and research, banning liberality of thought and action. They bait Jews, Catholics—all aliens—destroying a century of efforts toward international cooperation.

Meanwhile all over America—still the best haven of liberty in the world—fears grow for the security of the American na-

dition. Will the flags and songs, the badges and uniforms, the goose-step of marching bands sweep American youth away from the sound road of free intelligence? In the Fascist countries the dictators have given the people new and easily understood allegiances. Hard work . . . thrift . . . instant and complete obedience . . . don't think or experiment . . . follow your leaders . . . sacrifice for the Fatherland . . . our country right or wrong . . . purge our country of all aliens . . . war upon wasteful and inefficient Democracy . . . help build the Fascist state . . . help build the Socialized state.

These slogans are clear and definite. They are given to the people in a dramatic setting, with emotional exhortation. As a consequence, tens of millions of the rank and file of other countries are swayed by them and line up in a great crusade.

We are compelled to ask. Are there germs of incipient dictatorship and fascism in our American culture? "Can it happen here" in spite of assertions to the contrary?

It is happening here. The germs of incipient fascism have always been in the national blood stream. Examples? Consider the testimony before the LaFollette Senate investigating committee on civil liberties as evidence of national malady of the body politic. Witness the current centers of infection. The "I-am-the-law" rule of Hague in New Jersey . . . the use of the infamous Mohawk Valley formula in New York cities . . . the Louisiana Empire inaugurated by the strong-armism of Huey Long . . . the man-handling by police to prevent labor organization in New Orleans . . . the murder of workers in Tampa, Florida . . . the Memorial Day massacre by police in Chicago . . . the Black Legion in Michigan . . . the many centers of share-cropping social debauchery in the South . . . the wholesale violent eviction of many families of lumber union workers and the evil conditions in parts of California . . . the wholesale murders in Harlan, Kentucky;

the—but why go on? You, no doubt, can add other local examples from your own region in America.

In such American centers democracy is now dormant. Lawless political bosses, city officials, corporation officials, so-called public-relations-counsel on-the-make set themselves up as extra-legal dictators over public administration as well as over the public mood. They stamp on free speech, “deport” native Americans distinguished in public life, they illegally jail their political opponents, they throw eggs and shout down meetings. They flog, they beat, they use third-degree brutality.

One fact is certain. These phenomena are “fascist” in character. They *are* dictatorial, authoritarian. They *are* thoroughly undemocratic and as such are alien to the American tradition. These happenings are forms of “The Terror.” And they are with us here—not 4000 and more miles away in Italy or Germany, Spain, or Russia, or Japan.

Yet these destroyers of “law and order” are our own people caught by a social situation that they do not understand, turning to violence in what many of them regard as self-defense. Deep down most of them are well-meaning, provincial, small-town minds, strugglin’ to make an honest livin’. They are suddenly caught “unbeknownst” by the overwhelming avalanche of a social system running wild without a governor to control it, made hysterical by the creepin’ up on them of mysterious, hitherto-unknown forces. So they clutch the American flag in one hand and reach for a stone or a gun with the other to destroy anyone who attacks their property and their power. And the chief impetus to this lawless action is—fear and hate but largely fear, bred by ignorance and mothered by the spirit of acquisitiveness.

To many of these “Haves”—big and little—the present years seem to have brought an attack upon the very foundations of American civilization. Their entrenched interests are being called in question. Their power is being threatened. To

this threat, their natural individualistic reaction is "I made that competence, that corporation, that invention, that income! It's mine. You can't encroach on it or control it. You can't even tax it! You who propose to do so are enemies of law and order. You are un-American. Yes—you are Communists . . . Reds . . . Undesirables. I'll have you deported or jailed!" This attitude—widespread among our people—is a natural outcome of the successful struggle for property and power in a ruthlessly competitive society.

These, then, are the virulent symptoms of social disease in the body politic. That they break out from month to month and year to year is convincing evidence that the national blood stream itself is infected. The health of the American democratic state is in grave danger. No lancing of superficial local eruptions will purify that blood stream. A vast hospitalization program must be designed and launched. Fighting phagocytes—anti-bodies of education—must be injected to combat the deadly microbes, the noxious formations that are undermining social resistance. And a long-time campaign must be developed of the total body-building of democratic education which will create real social intelligence among our people.

III. THE THIRD PHASE OF THE AMERICAN PROBLEM

I can find no single word or phrase that adequately states the third phase of the American problem. There are several important ones, each of which conveys an essential aspect of it, for example

- integrity of expression
- creative expression
- the fullest development of personality
- sensitive awareness . . . heightened appreciation of beauty
- fullest utterance of the self
- self-cultivation

Note the manner in which these statements give prominence to the self—its expression, its appreciative awareness, its integrity and its cultivation. It is the essential personality of the individual that is here under discussion. It is perhaps not to be wondered at that no single concept can be found that describes it with the comprehensiveness that "democracy" epitomizes the second phase of The American Problem

Indeed, much could be said in favor of regarding this third phase of The Problem as an aspect of the concept of building democracy in America. I would be entirely willing to do so if that concept were stated definitively enough to give emphasis to the central rôle of the Self . . . the Personality of the individual. I remind the reader again of our statement of it to provide a way of life that will enable each individual to rise to the highest stature of which he is innately capable. "A way of life," that is, economic, political, and social institutions, in which each person cannot only share in the total "social income" but give full unrestricted personal expression to what he sees, feels, thinks about life in the culture. To be called truly democratic, a social order must definitely reveal a climate of opinion which will permit—no, more than that, *stimulate*—each individual to "say" what he has thought out himself, his own way. By the words *to say* I mean To state . . . to express creatively . . . what one sees of life around him, with any material—words, tone, the body, social relations, physical materials of architecture, sculpture, painting, what-not To *state his own personally imagined conceptions of life*—to put them down, to utter them, to produce them in a building or a book, a garden or a community design, a law or a social organization in the most adequate personal expression—that is the comprehensive concept for which we are striving to find words

If the word *democracy* makes this dynamic factor of per-

sonal expression stand out boldly as central and indispensable, then what I call the third phase of *The American Problem* can perhaps be subsumed in our thinking with the second one.¹

But if the concept is made too all-inclusive, some of its critical meanings are apt to be lost. My own experience for fifteen years with professed students of democracy and pragmatism has convinced me that all too frequently that has happened in the case of such concepts as "democracy" and "the experimental method of inquiry." The concept variously called the "creative act," integrity of expression, self-cultivation, appreciation—has become submerged. Hence I suggest that educators will grip *The American Problem* more surely if they distinguish as a task to be confronted separately what I call its third phase.

Perhaps the most comprehensive phrasing of the concept is "integrity of personal expression," or "creative expression." It conveys not only the quality of stating one's own personally imagined conceptions, which I have just stressed, but in addition it requires that the statement shall be made with the best technical competence that the individual can command. Creative imagination and technical competence are both indispensable phases of integrity of expression. If they are achieved

¹ A somewhat fuller interpretation can be gotten from Chapter VIII. Perhaps the informal "aside" nature of a footnote will permit me to add that I am a good deal troubled over the minimizing of this phase of *The American Problem* in this book. It is easy to rationalize the defect in my colleagues and myself by pointing out, first, the dire importance of concentrating much of our energy on encouraging the study of social problems, second, that the special focus of interest of the founders of the John Dewey Society for the Study of Culture and Education, and of the present Yearbook Committee, lies in what its advocates sometimes call "the social." I do feel impelled to register my regret at the necessity of contracting the space devoted in the book to what I distinguish here as the third phase of *The American Problem*. Even now (October 1, 1938) I know I would have my colleagues' cooperation in adding a section to the book to do so, but that would greatly expand an already-too-long book, and might encroach on the present dynamic emphasis on "the social." II R

successfully, then the product of the expression . . . of the creative act . . . truly has integrity, it has what the artists are calling "organic form."

This third great phase of The American Problem, then, demands that we build a social order that will increasingly make integrity of personal expression possible. That *it is still a problem* for our people is established by a whole library of historical and contemporary documentation. I cite a bit of it.

The intellectual climate in which the continent was conquered was such as to defeat the growth of these sensitive qualities of expression and appreciation in the people. The tone of life was conquer . . . build . . . exploit . . . compete . . . hurry . . . make it bigger and better. While the individual was given free rein for conquest self-cultivation was all but impossible; esthetic interests were at a low ebb. The pressures of a hostile geography, the lure of immediate profits in an untouched continent, the spirit of acquisitiveness and other factors we have described all contributed to produce a raucous aggrandizing culture. Actually the only way a man could express himself was by defeating his fellows, by becoming a big man in the community. In such an atmosphere there was, inevitably, a dearth of thoughtful design or quiet contemplation. Only the rare mutant succeeded in achieving integrity of expression and he (Whitman . . . Thoreau . . . Melville . . . Poe . . . Sullivan . . . *et al*, to name but a few) did it at the expense of popular understanding and acceptance.

In such a competitive rank-order civilization the measure of the individual's "statement" of his life was not the integrity of his own creation, it was its comparison with another person's statement. Each person was goaded to rise to heights set by other persons' capabilities. Examples could be cited in every aspect of living, to name a few, note the whole system of rewards in schools and colleges, and of prizes and promo-

tions in industry and business and government, in athletics and the arts (witness the Man-to-Man Rating Scale in industry, the United States Army, and other enterprises).

Thus throughout the entire culture a person's "stature" was measured by contrasting it with another's stature, rather than with the fullest stature "of which he was innately capable." So it was that the American idea was denied and integrity of expression was rendered very difficult—for most people, impossible.

Instead—Expression Was Imitative and Eclectic

Most of the few persons of intelligence and energy who did succeed in turning their backs on economic invention, technology, and business to devote themselves to the more sensitive study and portraiture of life in America were unable to put down with integrity their own conceptions of life as it was actually lived here. On the contrary they recorded a prettified British-European version of their romantic dream world for America. For two centuries almost every potential major creative American—poet, novelist, architect, painter, "the artists" generally—copied the ideas, standard styles, and themes of Europe instead of creating their own. Almost nobody succeeded in stating life as it was really lived in America by Americans. As Emerson complained, our language, customs, letters, arts generally all stemmed from England and Europe and the classical cultures of the past. Listen to the denunciation of the lack of courage and originality in our architects by the first truly creative American master, Louis H. Sullivan.¹

Thus we have now the abounding freedom of Eclecticism, the winning smile of taste, but no architecture. For Architecture, be it known, is dead . . . There is now a dazzling display of merchandise, all imported, exception to be sure our own cherished colo-

¹ L. H. Sullivan, *Autobiography of an Idea*, pp. 375-326

mal, which maintains our Anglo-Saxon tradition in its purity. We have Tudor for colleges and residences; Roman for banks, and railway stations and libraries,—or Greek if you like—some customers prefer the Ionic to the Doric. We have French, English and Italian, Gothic, Classic and Renaissance for churches. In fact we are prepared to satisfy, in any manner of taste. Residences we offer in Italian or Louis Quinze. We make a small charge for alterations and adaptations. Our service we guarantee as exceptional and exclusive. Our importations are direct. We have our own agents abroad.

And more recently from Sheldon Cheney.¹

Eclecticism is the amiable name given to architectural incompetence in the period 1870-1920. Pickers and choosers from older forms of building, disputers for this or that style within the limits of impotency and imitativeness, tasteful roamers, cultured repeaters of other men's architectural phrases—Eclectics!

In every medium of expression the creative process was demeaned. A climate of imitation of foreign and ancient classic styles was spread over the land. In every field I say—in architecture, in letters, in painting, in sculpture, in music, the dance, the theatre, what-not? George Santayana, who grew up in it and lifted himself above it, named it "The Genteel Tradition," saying of the current mood in literature.²

They could not retail the genteel tradition, . . . But life offered them little digestible material, nor were they naturally voracious. They were fastidious, and under the circumstances they were starved . . . Therefore the genius of . . . Hawthorne, and even of Emerson, was employed in a sort of inner play, or digestion of vacancy. It was a refined labor, but was in danger of being morbid, or tinkling, or self-indulgent. . . . [Then] fancies expressed their personal genius sincerely, as dreams may, but they were arbitrary fancies in comparison with what a real observer would have said in the premises. . . . In their own persons they escaped the medioc-

¹ Sheldon Cheney, *The New World Architecture*, p. 54.

² George Santayana, *The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy*.

ity of the genteel tradition, but they supplied nothing to supplant it in other minds.

This, then, is the harsh background which crushed the creative spirit in America during the period of preemption and settlement. In Chapter VIII we shall see the manner in which that spirit awoke near the close of the Gilded Age and burst its hampering bonds in a great revolt against exploitation and the genteel tradition.

This must bring to a close my preface to the program which we present in this book to deal with The American Problem. There is vastly more to even the statement of the problem than I have been able to hint. But these brief paragraphs have stated its essentials. They also sketch the major outlines of the great educational task before us. In the remaining chapters of this book we shall endeavor to fill in that outline.

First, in Chapter V we appraise the problem confronted by young Americans in growing up in the midst of the stresses and strains of our depressed society.

Second, in Chapter VI, we appraise the school of the first industrial society.

Chapter V

CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN A DEPRESSED SOCIETY¹

* * *

Growing up in the kind of society we have described is a very difficult process. From babyhood to maturity the individual is often in emotional conflict. This is caused by the necessity of adjusting to his environment and of meeting emotional needs in ways that are both satisfying to him and acceptable to those around him. Yet development from infant dependency to mature responsibility can take place in no other way, it is through his actual social living that the child works out his social adjustment to the world around him. Inevitably, then, the differences in the extent to which his environment helps or hinders him will be enormous. At times it will be congenial and helpful to him by reducing the strains and pressures inherent in social development, at others it will gravely intensify his emotional problems.

Even under the most favorable circumstances there is sure to be some conflict. How much more, then, is it to be expected in our contemporary American society, in which children and youth will meet serious hazards and obstacles to development! Under the pressures and tensions of our depressed and swiftly changing culture the problems of growing up are made very difficult. It is the special task of this chapter to discuss the influences which the culture in transitional America exert upon the child trying to work out his emotional and

¹ This chapter was written by Caroline Zachry

social adjustment. We shall study both those influences which burden him and which the school may help to offset, as well as those which the school may foster and support.

WHAT IS THE CHILD'S ENVIRONMENT

It is evident that material aspects of the child's world are vital to his social development, for example, physical health is one of the basic requirements for emotional health. Further, when environment is considered in the light of its interplay with the emotional needs of the developing individual it is, of course, seen as including not only such provision as there may be for food, shelter, health care, and physical safety, but all else that the individual sees and feels.

For the infant there is at first only himself, he is his own inner and outer world. But even in his feelings about himself he is influenced, in some degree, by another person who is as yet scarcely differentiated from himself—his mother or his nurse. Gradually he becomes aware of her identity as the source of his pleasure and disappointment; she is all the world to him. Her feelings toward him, interacting with the needs which he feels, are the climate in which he lives. His horizon continues to expand, and his emotional interests come to include others besides himself and his parents. In childhood he finds children like himself and his teachers; in adolescence he has chums and sweethearts, potential employers or "bosses" and other adults. These in their relationships with him are the world in which he grows.

The young child feels the impact of the wider social group with its standards of value or its confusion of standards, its currents of energy and hope or anguish and despair, as these are felt by the adults close to him and expressed in their attitudes. The adolescent receives the larger environment both

indirectly through the grown persons who are important to him and directly.

HOW IT LOOKS TO YOUTH

Young people have spoken to us frankly about their problems. Some boys in the senior year of a city high school¹ were asked to write—anonynously—of problems of heredity, eugenics, reproduction, and euthenics which they thought a course in social hygiene might help them solve. In addition to writing of problems in these areas, many gave the following answers to the question "What troubles you?"

My problem is mainly how I am to make a living once I am out of school.

I believe unemployment is the chief problem of youth today. It's too bad that money means so much to us

My most immediate problem is to get out of school and get to work. But there is where the real problem is. After school what?

What should a young couple do who cannot afford marriage but love each other nevertheless?

I wonder if the present unstableness, in foreign countries, will affect my future

Most of us feel that the way things are we'd better forget about future "book larnin'." The present is our concern, for the future is so indeterminable with unsteady economic systems and shaky world affairs.

Sometimes I become serious about such things as this: one might as well get the most out of life now, for he can't live forever. What will happen to the U. S. in time of war?

The question of how to avoid being cannon fodder also plagues my brain.

¹ Illustrations here and following come from *The Study of Adolescents*. A few of the observations and experiences cited in this chapter are those of adolescents employed on part-time projects by the National Youth Administration of New York City, of whom a small but unselected group was studied.

There is a great deal of talk at present about Aryanism and superiority of certain races. Can there be anything in this?

A young man, recalling school experiences, said to the interviewer

Three-quarters of the teachers are reactionary and should have been embalmed long ago. They still tell you that everybody has a chance to be president.

A girl who had quit school to look for work told the interviewer

The only way to get a job is to know somebody, who knows somebody, who knows somebody.

A girl who recently graduated from a city high school returned for advice about going to night school while she looked for work, and later, too, if she got a job. Her problems are extreme, they are not typical. Nevertheless by their intensity they serve to illustrate dramatically the influence of harsh outer reality upon the inner conflict of the adolescent.

The counsellor found that R. was experiencing difficulty with emotional adjustments to her mother, stepfather, and sister. She accused her stepfather of making advances to her and said that her mother earned her living by prostitution and drank heavily. The sister had been placed in a detention home because of sexual delinquency. R. felt that her mother had brought about this detention and resented her mother's action, she believed that the stepfather was responsible for her sister's delinquency. She felt that she could not be good because her mother and sister were not good. She distrusted all men. Her constant high emotional tension was enhanced by a hearing difficulty.

She was accused of theft by the family with whom her sister later lived. To the counsellor she said that her sister was responsible for the accusation, and she appeared very unhappy over this situation.

Treatment was arranged for the hearing difficulty, part-time volunteer work was found in a settlement house where R. met others of her age; she went to night school; she looked for a job.

But, she wrote to the counsellor, her parents were suspicious of her absences "Were you out with your boy friend?"

She continued: "Needless to say, I've had no luck in finding work. That's at the bottom of it all. My stepfather is continually throwing it up at me. He tells me that I can't find work because I don't want to work. Frankly, I'm desperate. I feel that I'll soon arrive at the end of my rope and I no longer care to fight this feeling. You'll think I'm a quitter and you're right."

Another letter, and R. had good news. A friend of the family was paying her \$5 a week to take full charge of a small new hardware store. She was learning the business, and it left her time for studying night-school lessons. "Every evening I go to school eagerly and expectantly. I have made some friends there and have joined the hiking club." In this letter, the latest to reach the counsellor, family problems were not mentioned. The counsellor wrote to R. that she would like to see her again. . . .

Then there is the experience of a very charming Jewish girl, eighteen years old.

She graduated from high school, was a good typist and stenographer, but according to her "My heart is not in my work"—she had always wanted to be a nurse or a physician. Her father had been a small business man but was then on WPA. Her only sibling, a brother eleven years old, was thin, had colds which hung on, and was running a slight temperature. The old family physician did not charge much for his visits. [The girl's] eyes were very sad at times when she came to the office; it would take a long time to cheer her up. She had real dignity and did not like sympathy. Once, however, she broke down and told the interviewer how horrible it was to watch her father lose his self-respect, how horrible it was to see her mother explode at times because she had to economize so rigidly, how horrible it was to hear her parents say tactless things to each other and then to see them humiliated over it.

An attempt was made to find a job for [this girl]. Of the several who were interviewed, the employer liked [her] best. . . . The next day the interviewer received the following letter:

"Knowing you would be interested in hearing the results of yesterday's interview, I am sorry I must write and say it was a failure.

Everything went off well and I thought I had the position when Mr. . asked if my family was entitled to Home Relief I explained that my Dad was on WPA That ended the interview You see, if I were to take the position, my Dad would lose his Although it would mean a slight increase in our income, it would also mean the loss of what little self-respect my Dad has left He wouldn't say anything if I took it, but I know it would hurt him terribly, so I refused I am sure you will understand. . . ."

The preceding chapter discussed strains of American life, and this is how the situation looks to some of the older young people. In childhood, darkened by economic depression, they are meeting the environment at first hand and are striving to find their place in it as adults We may now look a little more closely and try to determine what are the psychological implications of these social stresses, what are the ways in which the emotional and social development of youth is influenced by them. Of primary importance to the development of the child's personality are the physical conditions of his life

THE CHILD'S HEALTH IN A DEPRESSED SOCIETY

The conditions which the family can create, or if it is unable, which organized society can supply, for the child's health, his nourishment, his shelter and safety, bear directly upon his social, as well as his physical, growth. But physical health, a basic requirement for emotional health, is in turn dependent upon adequate economic resources When fathers are out of work, children are undernourished and ill-clothed, they sleep in crowded rooms, their illnesses are not cared for, their physical defects stay with them uncorrected. Help has been given toward meeting problems such as these through relief agencies set up by the federal government On the other hand, during times of deep economic depression, taxpayers induce local government units to cut budgets even at the cost of services of public hospitals, visiting nurses, and school

medical inspectors Gifts to private charitable agencies in the field of public health likewise are reduced Thus while many individual family incomes dwindle or vanish and the children's need for public care increases, public provision through local governmental and private charitable sources also diminishes.

THE SCHOOL IN A DEPRESSED SOCIETY

Society's provision for the education of childhood, too, is curtailed in times of depression, which has now become a continuing process. Some public schools are closed, the terms of others are shortened, and the staffs of most that remain are reduced. Because funds for a sufficient number of teachers are not allowed, children are heided into overcrowded classrooms. Because there is not enough money for new buildings, classes continue in antiquated, drafty and leaky structures, with excess groups meeting in halls or basements In some city schools the periods are shortened so that one building may be used by children in three shifts from early morning until after dusk. Corridors in these large, overburdened schools are continually alive with squads of children moving in and out, from room to room, through the long day. In a family of three children, one in each shift at school, mother is always at home serving meals, to one at a time.

In many schools kindergarten classes are lopped off, and there is no room in the high school for the adolescent graduate who, unable to find a job, would like to go on with his studies. As with private health agencies, so, too, supplemental aid to the education of childhood is reduced Libraries and recreation centers are overcrowded and undermanned, their worn supplies unreplenished, their equipment unrepaired.

When economy waves strike the budget-makers, there is a return to fundamentalism in education. All that has been gained through recent advancing knowledge of child per-

sonality is removed as luxury if it represents expenditure, and the harried classroom teacher stands more than ever alone. There is no money for the visiting teacher who might aid her in knowing a child's home situation, or for the guidance expert who might help a troubled child to understand and perhaps to remake his behavior.

Especially in times of depression society deals with its children en masse. To the teacher who works under pressures such as these, the children can hardly seem as so many individuals, each unique, each with his own needs which someone like herself might be able to help him satisfy, if she could know him, if there could be time. In a later chapter¹ are discussed the contributions which school experience, under adequate provisions, can make to the emotional and social development of childhood through understanding guidance on the part of the classroom teacher with the aid of such specialists as the visiting teacher, the guidance expert, the school nurse and doctor. It is evident here that under conditions such as those which prevail when educational budgets are drastically limited, the school must slough off a major portion of its responsibility in this area. Thus organized society is more neglectful of the emotional health of its children during times of their greater need.

That the emotional need of many children is indeed greater under conditions such as those of contemporary America is the product of psychological factors which go hand in hand with dominant social trends as these are exaggerated by economic and social insecurity, by cultural transition.

SUCCESS AND SECURITY

The American dream always has emphasized success at the expense of essential values of affection and security with

¹ Chapter XVI, "The Educative Process as Guidance."

people. Yet clinical experience—not only with children and adults suffering from unusual difficulty in adjustment, but also with those who have achieved success in the eyes of the world—indicates that it is essential to the individual's rounded development that he maintain a sense of being loved for himself, not only for what he can achieve.

The infant and young child need to know that they are wanted in the intimate family group. A little later the child must feel that he is accepted by his contemporaries, that other children are glad to see him and enjoy working and playing with him, that his teacher accepts him for what he now is. The adolescent must not only feel secure with contemporaries of his own sex, he must also be able to win special affection and approval from the opposite sex.¹ The adult needs to believe that he is loved and respected in the family group which he has created; beyond that his security—like that of the older adolescent—depends upon having a recognized place in the larger social group and feeling that he is making a valid contribution to it.

Not only during childhood, therefore, but all through life a sense of security with others is essential to well-being; and although the conditions that provide it change gradually as the individual matures, some of the fundamental factors remain essentially the same.

To be sure, the need to succeed is also basic, but it is felt with disproportionate keenness under such influence as that of the traditional American psychology of success. Americans judge achievement by one's job and the pay one receives for work, very little work has intrinsic value. And as the stresses and strains of depression have further distorted this standard of value, they have made more difficult the development and maintenance of one's security with other people and of one's worth as a person. As competition becomes keener, success becomes not only more difficult but also more valuable to the

individual. When a person's job is gone and he becomes unable to earn what seems to him an adequate income, he very soon begins to lose faith in himself as a person. This is especially serious for the older individual who had once been a successful worker, it may be even more serious for the young person who has not yet proved himself in work. For some of the many families sustained by work relief, home relief, and charity and existing by such means year upon year, this cultural pressure to succeed may to some extent seem to have slackened, yet it is likely that for most of them the basic need for achievement is sufficiently strong so that the fact that society is providing for them enhances a feeling of unworthiness.

The need for success and the need for security with people go hand in hand, they are interdependent. A feeling of failure carries over from one area to the other. To fail in achievement causes many an individual to lose faith in himself and in his relationships with people, it soon creates a sense of inadequacy and anxiety in family living. Recognized success, on the other hand, contributes to a sense of security with others; the assurance of affection and respect releases and stimulates energies for otherwise impeded accomplishment. Failure in social relationships impels many people to overwork or to work with tension and anxiety, in an attempt to compensate through conspicuous achievement.

Comfortable family relationships are the foundation upon which the healthy development of a sense of security with people is built, and overemphasis upon achievement has its effect upon childhood first of all through the atmosphere of the home. To love one's family, to give one's children a sense of warmth, affection, and assurance does not bring prestige to a parent in the way that to succeed in profession or business does. The drive for success usually is recognized as primarily a masculine characteristic, and the care of the

family's need for love and security with people has been relegated by tradition almost entirely to the feminine rôle. Yet in the past the keeping of a home offered to women the opportunity for achieving success, too, through the very expression of love and the cherishing of security, they were indeed successful when they cared for their homes, loved their husbands, and bore many children.

However, greater respect has, of course, always been accorded to the male rôle. With the invention of machinery women had less and less satisfying work to do at home, and they became more and more envious of the masculine rôle. And so today it is almost as important to a girl to prove her adequacy through achievement outside the affectional and security-giving function as it is to a boy. As increasing emphasis is placed upon the proficiency of woman, many a mother, lacking a vocational outlet commensurate with her training, reduces the management of her household, and even child care, to a level of cool efficiency, seeking recognition for professional success in her home. Scientific psychological study of the rearing of children has also contributed toward this trend through its misapplication in overemphasis upon direction and training of children, often to the detriment of their sense of being loved. When the educated woman concentrates all of her training and energy upon her children, she sometimes becomes quite compulsive and anxious. The economic depression further increased this problem of security for many families in which mothers have been able to obtain work while fathers remained unemployed, women were thus drawn farther away from the values originally cherished in their home functions.

That most women today still have with them the unsolved problem of their social rôle has manifold meanings for the development of the child personalities within their care. And

in this connection it is significant that the earliest contacts of children in our society are almost all with women, they see little of their fathers, and men teachers of young children are very rare

The rôle contemporary American society accords to fathers also creates some family tensions. Although the woman receives increasing recognition for professional achievement and less for her giving of warmth and affection in the home, compensating warmth from the father is not expected. That many men feel a desire to play a greater affectional rôle in their families and feel deprived of parenthood when by force of tradition, they are to a very considerable degree left out in the cold, does not often appear on the surface, but it is made abundantly evident in confidential materials dealing with the deeper problems of the family.

Boys as a rule are not expected to be interested in small children, yet many of them are. In one school when infant development was discussed in a biology class for girls, two boys entered the group on the pretext that they would be helpful in operating the projection machine which the teacher was using. In the end it was one of the boys who asked the most intelligent questions about the development of babies. The depth and spontaneity of his interest were obvious to the teacher, yet he felt he had to explain this away on vocational grounds: he said it arose from the fact that he intended to become a pediatrician. Boys are apt to show less interest, of course, when they are recruited into classes offered by departments bearing such feminine labels as "home economics," for to participate in such a class seems to mean running openly against the culture.

The parents of today's adolescents are peculiarly insecure. Not only have they worries because of present social and economic distress; they were, in many instances, scared dur-

ing adolescence by an earlier social upheaval. the World War. For them that was a period of almost hysterical growing up, fostered by adults who needed to have their War fought. All unprepared, they were thrust into a grim reality tragically different from the glories which had been painted, and many were unable to face the actuality which they found. The War's aftermath of disillusionment and the let-down and boredom of the return to a pedestrian world wherein one no longer seemed to be participating in the making of history contributed to an unprecedented shift in manners and morals, to a widespread increase in emotional instability, in neuroses and suicides.

Wounded by these experiences, the War generation carried many neurotic problems with them when they settled down to raise children of their own. They became conscientious but overanxious parents. Many, having torn down their standards of social behavior, their religious faith, their ethical code, did not dare to give a code to youth. Many have given freedom before their young people were able to bear it. Thus today's adolescents are growing up in homes which are permeated by insecurity and its accompanying anxiety, which derive not only from the present crisis but also from another in the background.

Since children depend upon the adults who are close to them, believing them to be both strong and wise, they also feel threatened when social conditions become too much for their parents. When father fails in the economic responsibility, when he himself despairs of his ability to meet expectations by playing well his rôle as head of the family, its protector and provider, then home no longer can seem so safe a place. And if home—which is at the bottom of all the security which the child knows—is shaky, then the whole world seems to be treacherous ground.

The trouble adults feel may disturb the child more deeply because it has its source in a situation he cannot know. In the face of emotional tensions which he does not comprehend and which stem from factors he cannot deal with, he is helpless. For him, therefore, such facts as debt or unemployment, hunger and want, may have the awful quality of a witch's tale, boding dangers that are unplumbed.

Thus the worries of grown persons may be conveyed in distorted and exaggerated fashion to the child, particularly if he is experiencing more than usual difficulties in the processes of emotional development. Such a child may be deeply frightened by discussions of depression and relief.

A teacher under severe pressure in the confusion of a depressed school situation and perhaps also under some personal emotional strain is very apt to transmit her anxieties to the child in her care. One small girl, attending a school which emphasized the values of social consciousness, was impressed by her teacher with the plight of impoverished families for whom the class filled baskets and Christmas stockings. This little girl came home one afternoon to learn that her father had been taken ill on the street and had to be carried back in an ambulance. She spent that night in fear. What concerned her was not so much the possibility of losing her father, but the fear that, with him disabled, she in her turn would have to receive baskets and a Christmas stocking from her schoolmates. Another small girl was upset because, having neglected to drink her milk at school, she was told by the teacher to "think of the poor little children who are hungry and have no milk to drink." To this child, hunger could have no realistic meaning, she had never suffered want. Having no basis in her reality, therefore, the situation became a "grim" fairy tale which caused her rather deep distress.

For the adolescent also, the anxieties of parents and other

adults have some of this quasi-supernatural air. But he comes into closer contact with the larger setting and, less and less protected, he feels some of its impacts at first hand.

In spite of increasing knowledge of the emotional needs of the individual the American school still operates for the most part on the assumption that its major task is to help the child attain certain prescribed levels of achievement, largely intellectual. Even in schools where a broad variety of opportunities for success is offered, emphasis is placed almost wholly upon proficiency. Such schools deprive the child of the necessary feeling that he is accepted for himself, not only for what he can do.

TRYING TO GROW UP

Economic privation has obvious immediate bearing upon social development in adolescence. Lack of privacy in a crowded home is especially serious at a period when the individual is struggling to come to an understanding of himself and to free himself from too great need of his parents. Young people have also suffered because of the limitation of recreational outlets, the lack of opportunities to become adjusted to members of their own and the opposite sex through play. This is a hardship peculiar to America, for here recreation has been very largely associated with the spending of money. One simply must have the price of an ice-cream cone or a ticket to the movie when other children do! Yet interest and enjoyment in recreation at little financial cost has made headway in the United States during the present economic depression. Many persons have learned to have a good time with spending little or no money (roller-skating has become a fad among adolescents), and the evident great need for recreational opportunity has given impetus to the use of federal funds for the construction of parks and bathing pools.

More profoundly, however, the inability to get a job, and the consequent inability to work out his sex adjustment through marriage and establishment of a home of his own, affect the adolescent by preventing his achievement of the symbols of adulthood toward which he strives

Lack of status has been a problem of adolescents throughout recent generations. In eighteenth-century America, adult responsibility was thrust upon boys just past childhood. Since then, however, the span between childhood and adulthood has become—except in times of war—ever longer, partaking of both but belonging to neither, adolescents dwell in a no man's land between the two. Without status as persons in their particular stage of development, they long the more for status on the level just ahead—for the recognized symbols of adulthood.

Badly needed for the work of the World War, youth was idolized during that period. Early marriages were romanticized and to every young person was offered a glamorous mission. But now, when there are not enough jobs to go around among older persons, youth constitutes economic competition, a threat to adult security, and there is no place for him as an adult in the adult world.

Adequately detailed statistics regarding the present employment or unemployment of the more than 20,000,000 young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four in the nation as a whole are not available. We may gain information of some general significance, however, from a study of the conditions of youth of these ages in Maryland,¹ made in the spring of 1936, a period then considered one of economic upturn from depression. The writer of the study is satisfied that the sample group interviewed is representative of all of the young people in Maryland and that the diverse

¹ Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story* (American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, Washington, 1938)

conditions of that state are typical of conditions of the country as a whole. In that study it was found that 66 per cent of the young people between sixteen and twenty-four are out of school and in the labor market. Of these 30 per cent are unemployed, the proportion of those unable to find work increasing with the youthfulness of the seeker from 20 per cent of the twenty-four-year-olds to 56 per cent of the sixteen-year-olds. The 61 per cent of those in the labor market who have full-time jobs and the slightly more than 9 per cent of them who work part time, receive a median weekly wage of \$12.46, 14 per cent of them receive less than \$5 a week.

Not is this the whole story. Homer P. Rainey, director of the American Youth Commission, observes in a foreword ¹

The gap which now exists between school and employment is reaching ominous proportions. It is established in this study that the percentage of out-of-school and employable youth who had not obtained any full-time employment at the expiration of a year after leaving school falls within the range of 40 to 60 per cent. The average period of delay for the youth who dropped out of school before the age of sixteen was three and a half years, and the average duration of the unemployment of all of these youth was a year and eleven months. Twenty-six per cent of all of them have never been employed.

A very large percentage of youth assert that economic insecurity is their most urgent personal need. The problem of unemployment is very great, but even employed youth face serious difficulties. Rates of pay tend to be low, hours tend to be long, a majority of youth with jobs must contribute to the support of families. Many youth are in blind-alley jobs. Some are in jobs which they will shortly lose because of advancing age. Many more aspire to enter professional and semi-professional fields than are at all likely to be accommodated, and the majority are forced into unskilled or only slightly skilled occupations. Youth faces an occupational future in industry that is becoming more mechanized, less concerned with highly developed mechanical skills, less given to practical instruction outside the in-

¹ *Ibid*

dustrial plant, and more insecure for one with a single vocational skill.

General unemployment affects not only the older adolescent, growing up socially is retarded all along the line. Its influence permeates development at least as early as the beginning of puberty for, since long preparation is required for most fields of endeavor, pressure for vocational choice begins years before the adolescent is ready to begin to work. Although choices shift, the enthusiasm for choosing and the concern with making a definite selection of vocation are influenced by the fact that older friends, brothers and sisters, are expressing defeat.

We must not suppose that the young people who are under extreme economic need to find a job are the only sufferers. The young person of a privileged economic group is very apt to question his right to accept a job while his family is able to support him because in doing so he may deprive some other adolescent whose family is dependent upon him for support. This situation presents special difficulties to the girl of the upper economic group. In contrast to her mother's generation, she feels that she must find worthwhile work in order to prove her adequacy and to take her place as a useful member of society. But the older members of her family do not consider work which she might do so seriously as they do that of her brother—a man simply must get started some time. This girl, therefore, feels even more guilty than would her brother when she accepts a job which may deprive another young person of daily bread. Her education has given her social sensitivity, in many instances to a degree far beyond that which education contributed to her mother's social sensitivity; yet society does not give her satisfying opportunities to act in accordance with that sensitivity.

As for the youth of the middle economic group, usually he

has stayed in school or college only through great sacrifice on the part of his parents, supplemented perhaps by his own part-time work. With this debt of gratitude upon him, he must find work—any work. He learns to be grateful if he manages to obtain a job that could as well be handled by a moron.

Without a job, youth is unable to marry and found his own home. Young people who participated in the preliminary survey conducted by the Study of Adolescents of the Progressive Education Association said that they were in great need of a chance to work out their love relationships. Those at the college level made it quite clear that the knowledge that, without work, they must postpone marriage created many emotional problems for them, it created tensions and anxieties as to the whole problem of sex ethics and of social behavior.

Without an economic function or the prospect of early marriage, youth is robbed of a sense that his life has significance. Although he is in truth no longer a child, he is excluded from the status of adulthood.

In the survey young people said, too, that they all needed a chance to work toward a purpose. In the course of the struggle to free himself from childlike dependence upon his family, the adolescent is very likely to seek an ideal with which to identify himself. He looks for something greater than he, or indeed than any other one person. By dedicating himself to a social or religious cause and working toward its goal, he may come to feel his worth as a person. But today more than ever youth, in search of an ethic, finds confusion. Many adolescents see in the adult society around them attitudes of opportunism and devil-take-the-hindmost, or they find listlessness and despair.

A high-school girl was writing a paper on religion, the teacher's only requirement having been that the class write on subjects "philosophical" in the broadest sense.

Forming ideals about human personalities, model societies, may to some seem more plausible and satisfying than accepting ideals already established about a Being, and a paradise, the existence of which can never be assured in this life . . . But can idealism be accepted as a religion, and be truly satisfying? Is it satisfying in these days of chaos, depression, international unrest, to live solely for the bare possibility of a Utopian society coming to this earth?

When, as in any social upheaval, traditional comforts and formulas fail, some men and women submit in patient blindness, some abandon belief in basic principles of fair play, some clutch at any new and glittering doctrine which seems to offer hope. Under pressure of widespread want, some young persons are able to find objectives for idealism in the degree of economic planning that is talked of and attempted through the federal government. Others find a sense of direction, purpose and power through participation in radical causes.

My friends and I [wrote one youth in the senior year of high school] are members of a radical organization and are in the thick of the fight for a Socialist America. Even now, many of us join in the fight for workers' rights on picket lines, etc. We also urge better conditions for students by asking increased appropriations of NYA, smaller classes, etc. This is not only done as a matter of duty, but also because we get a sense of satisfaction and joy in our work.

But what of the appeal to youth of social causes destructive of the satisfactions basic to the development and maintenance of maturity, of traditional liberty, equality, and fraternity? Fascism is in essence an adolescent philosophy. What would be the response of youth, deprived and bewildered in an atmosphere of moral confusion, to the glittering promises of totalitarianism?

The attitudes of young people out of school and unemployed, who have cooperated in the Study of Adolescents, seem to fall into two groups.

One ¹ [group] reacts to the pressures, conflicts, and tensions by becoming progressively more blocked and inactive, while the other, in response to the same intensified anxieties, becomes even more active, more restless . . . Will it be possible to rehabilitate the blocked and inactive? What will the active and restless do?

Both of these groups are obviously thwarted in their self-expression, in their functioning in life. All feel unwanted, not needed. Most feel the difficulty of finding a real purpose, a goal in life. Of all the dangers which such attitudes on the part of youth imply there is one which keeps coming to . . . mind. Suppose a demagogue comes along tomorrow and says to youth, "You are the salt of the earth. You have rights! The country *needs* you!" Suppose the demagogue gives uniforms to the boys and girls, suppose he gives them shiny badges. . .

If the adolescent does not have the opportunity to work out some of his anxieties and to establish his worth in adult society by contributing to a cause which is meaningful to him, his development will very probably be short-circuited. He must be taken into adult society at a reasonable age, adults may do him infinite harm by keeping him out. At least partial recognition of this need has been given in some communities, but in the majority of instances the civic work which is offered to youth is not only superficial but unreal, and it is as unconvincing to youth as it is to the adults who provide it. Adults rarely entrust youth with genuine responsibility for community enterprise.

Adolescents are bewildered not only by confusion of standards of value among adults whom they know but also by conflict of standards between theirs and the older generation on some issues of high importance to them. In the present period of deep and swift social transition the culture of youth and that of parents are in many respects far apart indeed. Parent-child relationships are strained by the widening gap between

¹ From a mimeographed report prepared in the Study of Adolescents, Progressive Education Association

generations, and youth is torn between conflicting loyalties. To the gang-age child who derives standards from his contemporaries the values of his companions seem right and those of his parents wrong—as, for instance, in an issue of manners or of the use of language. Nevertheless, mother and father are still important to him, and to differ with them involves emotional conflict.

The adolescent, trying to pull himself away from the shelter of home through new allegiances, is also frequently in conflict when his ways of thinking and believing clash with those of home—as in an issue of conduct such as petting or smoking, or in the broader questions of woman's place, or the existence of God, or the rights of capital and labor.

Teachers, too, derive most of their standards from a culture which is different from that of youth, in years, many teachers are indeed farther from the child than are his parents. And to differ with a teacher who has been adopted as a temporary parent substitute also is disturbing. Again the school contributes to the emotional conflict between parents and children when it introduces to the young even such objective superficialities as novel household tools, new ways of eating and dressing and judging consumer goods, without giving to parents an opportunity to learn of these innovations for themselves. The school may disturb parent-child relationships very deeply when it influences the mores of the young generation in the more subjective areas of sex education, courtship, and family living.

Yet in this very divergence between generations lies the age-long hope of the world for better things on this earth, parents, and teachers too, have abiding dreams that life will be better for the oncoming generation than for themselves. If adults are to offer youth real opportunities to contribute to adult society, they as well as the young people must be prepared to face and accept social change.

Contemporary America must provide a place for American youths. It must accord them the status of growing persons for only on this basis can they find themselves as adolescents. With a recognized place in a dynamic society, they must learn to participate in it, learn to deal with social transition and to direct it toward the realization of their aspirations. The educator alone cannot bring this about, but he can help young persons to find their places and to recognize their responsibilities in social and economic change.

Chapter VI

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL A DELINQUENT INSTITUTION¹



I THE SCHOOL AND THE WIDER CULTURE

What must now be said of the effectiveness of the American school in view of the negative and disintegrating forces at work in the contemporary social scene? Has this great institution functioned as an indigenous and unifying factor in our wider life, or has it been content to play the rather irresponsible rôle of an indiscriminating but obedient servant to all sorts of conflicting social claims and interests? Has the school incorporated into its immediate mechanism a critical interpretation of the factual conditions set forth in the preceding chapters—those powerful cross-currents of social-economic-political pressure which today are shattering the nerves of millions among us and leaving the rest with doubtful security and uncertain objects of loyalty? Or has this institution been preoccupied with its own intellectual specialisms, leaving the deeper forces of life to enter how they may and to shape in untoward ways the more unconscious dispositions and outlooks of individuals? Can it honestly be said that our schools now serve helpfully to reduce those deep clashes of attitude and interest which so dangerously divide us and which at the moment are wreaking such havoc in the emotions and aspirations of our people? Does not strictest candor compel recog-

¹ This chapter was written by Pickens E. Harris.

nition that the school has allowed its routines and materials to become so crystallized and disjoined from life's raw realities that as a unifying force its effectiveness has been abortive and impotent?

We are fully aware, of course, that it is much easier to find fault than to suggest desirable alternatives. But we are also aware that fundamental progress can come only as defects in the school's controlling assumptions and practices are clearly envisaged and as joint effort is then made to turn these delinquencies to constructive account. This we include in our task, and we propose to go about it as courageously as possible because we believe it to be a responsible part of any forward-looking program of educational and social regeneration.

In order to sharpen perception of the relationship between the school of today and the wider forces which give it meaning, let us anticipate the positive principle of our study as a whole. Our study reveals America's program of education as more properly a sphere of our general cultural life not, as many have mistakenly supposed, a separate enterprise possessing structure and significance within itself. The school should not be conceived as a separate organ in society but as an aspect of the total social organism itself. The school community and the community in which the school is located should not be too nicely demarcated. The school should so effectively penetrate the wider social process to reconstruct it that its very life and program are constituted in numerous arteries of connection with such other institutions as the home, industry, business, religion, and the state. Indeed, the idea of penetration is hardly adequate to convey fully our meaning here, since this notion when used alone may suggest a thin-edged, one-way service proceeding from some separately organized and independent source. Interpenetration or interaction seems better, although even such terms as these fail to suggest the completeness of identification we seek. For we

wish to convey the conception of a school in which education is thoroughly organic and indigenous to contemporary society. We cannot subscribe to an education conceived and operated in such habitual isolation from the community that it compels perverted emotionality and intellectual abstractionism.

We realize now as never before that in a very important sense society is itself a function of education, even though we do not approve many of its effects in determining the way people come to think, feel, and act. One fact, however, seems quite clear our wider surroundings influence personal behavior more today than ever before. Actually, as we have seen in the preceding chapters, the wider complex of cultural impingements seems just short of all-powerful in molding individual character.¹ The influence of certain immediate environmental conditions—such as those of the home, the street, and the gang—in shaping habit and disposition, has long been admitted, although the school has done far too little to capitalize such forces and still less to bring an improvement of their spirit or conditioning patterns. We know, of course, that much of this subtle foreground of community influence operates desirably as well as inevitably, since in order to live among others the child must of necessity acquire a language and such other social tools as will enable him to make his behavior fit measurably into that of others. But the influence is not an unmixed blessing, for it includes numerous indiscriminated effects coming from our wider culture as a whole.

Never have these remoter and more impersonal relationships assumed the powerful rôle, actual and potential, which they now occupy in conditioning personal attitude and con-

¹ The fact that these wider forces do fall just short of a complete subjugation of personality is of tremendous importance to education. Indeed this is our single great hope. For it is in this margin that impulse and intelligence find opportunity to exercise their reconstructive power in reshaping our customs and ultimately in controlling the course of social change.

duct. That solid background of practices, stresses, and strains which we call our work life, that incredible multiplication of activities which bring new physical associations though often without new understandings or emotional ties, that host of deliberately instituted agencies and techniques for molding opinion and influencing desire, that eternal human quest for power, privilege, and status; that unusual mobility of population—all such constitute a welter of social pressures which condition in considerable degree the lives of us all. The incidence of such cultural motivations in shaping personal habit and disposition is a fact too well established in anthropology and other branches of human science to escape longer the serious attention of educators.¹

SCHOOL SHOULD USE CULTURAL TENSIONS

When we thus distinguish wider education as a function of community pressures of various sorts, it becomes the province of all deliberate or formal education to make constructive use of these forces, even in their mingled and contrary manifestations. It has long been accepted that the school should employ subject-matter describing approved features of our political, industrial, recreational, and family life. But it has not been so clear that *all* of the forces at work at a given time in any one of these departments of life should be regarded as appropriate subject matter for the child's intellectual or moral development. For instance, government has usually been studied apart from such contrary forces as those exerted by corporations and interlocking directorates. It has been overlooked that the corporation has transcended its function as a method of doing business and has become a force in government itself.

¹ See especially Bronislaw Malinowski, "Culture," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1930), Vol. IV, pp. 621-645.

Indeed, it is today regarded as an easy rival of the state in power.¹ It should, therefore, be studied as a force at work in shaping governmental policy. Similarly, there is power in the activities of labor unions, but here is also power in property ownership and injunctions. Since all interpenetrate, all must be studied together. We could go on to cite many such instances of interpenetration where both positive and negative forces are at work. It is enough perhaps to mention how the power of propaganda, advertising, racketeering, the spirit of gain, the inertia of people's beliefs, and their prejudices are forces at work in our efforts to be intelligent in the consumption of goods and services, in our efforts to reach group decisions, and generally in our efforts to exercise social intelligence.

Whether such forces as the foregoing operate in ways that are immediate and direct or in ways that are subtle and apparently irrevocable, it should be the business of organized education to convert them into positive instruments of their own regeneration.² If the educational enterprise would take account of all factors that are at work in shaping individual character, it must employ in thoroughgoing and integral fashion the greatest diversity of conditions and motivations,

¹ A. A. Beale and G. C. Means, in an article on the "Corporation," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, pp. 472 f.

² This attitude seems fully in accord with current psychology of habit formation. We do not root out undesirable habits or attitudes and then inculcate more acceptable ones. We first recognize habit as a function of environmental as well as personal energies. We then aid individuals in the creative reconstruction of their habits, which includes the remaking of the situations to which the habits are relevant. The good is that which is growing better, whatever be the point at which change is begun. The norm of moral growth is habit remaking itself on the basis of social intelligence and self-criticism. No final state or fixed goal of accomplishment is necessary as a criterion. Present thinking must point the way into the future, or else there can be no democratic direction. This may not prove comforting to those who would set up a perfect democratic idealism and then rule out those behaviors or activities which do not conform to it as a standard. Such absolutism has no place in a society whose institutions are as experimental as ours. See especially, John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1922), pp. 36 f.

many of which are not only hostile to desirable change from within but are also in disruptive conflict with one another. The primary motivations of individual behavior are not in the primitive urges or initial compulsions with which the child is originally endowed, as important as these are for the later, critical reorientation of life's impingements. They reside in the preferences, usages, aversions, conflicts, and aspirations to which the fresh impulsive life of the child must assimilate itself, in some degree at least, as it comes into contact with active individuals who are already here when the child arrives on the scene. The going patterns of community participation, the generous altruisms and intense self-seekings of adults, their cooperative controls and insolent coercions, their common assents and petty bickerings, their square dealings and crooked maneuverings, their sympathies and deceptions, their critical inquiries and docile conformities, their highest services and selfish exploitations, their informed convictions and blind credulities, their wholesome confidences and morbid fears—these and such as these are the real motivations which shape individual desire and outlook. And these are the integral materials with which the new education must deal.

The principle of institutional interpenetration reveals how impossible it is for the school to run away from such forces as these. Social institutions do not reside in nicely insulated, paralleled compartments in life, they penetrate one another. They intermingle and fuse with one another to such an extent that, in spite of their confused inconsistencies, we find traces of them in every home and in the life of every child. The school cannot, therefore, set up an exclusive or morally perfect environment in which children are to grow in power to deal with life's harsher realities.¹ Although no institution thus

¹ We sometimes hear the view that propaganda should be kept out of the school. The point is that the effects of propaganda are continually present in every school, in the blind beliefs and uninformed attitudes of individuals—even teachers themselves—who have been influenced by this force in their

stands alone, since it is a function of "a multitude of social factors in their mutual inhibitions and reinforcements," nevertheless any social institution—and the school is no exception—may become so highly routinized in the pursuit of its habitual ends that it fails to take intelligent account of the *way* these wider impingements and connections get in their work. We may be largely ignorant of the way a child's habits (or even our own, for that matter) are shaped by outside forces. And when the interactions with the wider community are thus left unconsidered, their influences are likely to be ill-balanced and partial, or even negative and suppressive, as when the principle of freedom or participation is poorly integrated with the pressure of authority or external dictation. The effect on the individual is internal tension and emotional warfare. When such variations are reflected in different social groups, the effect is usually one of oscillation and compromise or of open opposition and conflict. In industry, for instance, where executive traits and traits of obedience are unequally represented in different groups—employers and workers—tension is almost sure to prevail, since it is so much easier to yield to the claims of employers *or* workers than to achieve an integration of the desires of both groups. Likewise, in schools and homes it is easier to have rigid authority *or* superficial freedom than to harmonize these aspects of experience in particular personalities and thereby render life richer and more secure for all. But since it is not possible to avoid some effect upon personalities from the various operative interactions of community life as a whole, even if they must run a subterranean, illicit course, it becomes imperative that the educational institution plant itself as firmly and as consciously as possible in the midst of the wider stream of social condi-

out-of-school relationships. We must, therefore, make use of these effects in their own gradual elimination. In doing so we at the same time eliminate the force from the community

tions in order that it may get leverage for integrating them on higher moral levels.

THE NEED OF A DYNAMIC PRINCIPLE OF ORGANIZATION

It is not enough, however, merely to assert that the school should find its life and program in numerous connections with the wider social process. For, as we have suggested, these relations may be so poorly conceived that they function in intellectual isolation and emotional pathology. What we seek is an increasingly natural and organic setting in life where relations of cause and effect are more discernible and where intelligence can be kept "at home" in its true province of converting blind, unordered response into criticized attitude. It is only in such a setting that intellectual integrity and emotional security can be sustained. It is meaningless, therefore, to distinguish education as a phase of our culture unless we also provide some interpretation or principle by which the distinction can be made intelligible and effective. Indeed, no useful distinction is possible except on the basis of a definite principle of orientation and emphasis. If the educational enterprise is to be connected directly with the existential complex of life in its definite spatial and temporal aspects, it must be organized in some way. The principle of organization of the school becomes a primary consideration of all educational thinking. And the rationale of this principle consists in the interpretation of those features of existing community life and organization which are believed to be acceptable as an emerging frame of reference or map of values for all who engage in the guidance of the educational enterprise.

It has not been the will of the committee, however, to impose upon the reader any authoritative principle of organization. For it is not our belief that there is at the present time any principle bearing such a degree of finality and authority.

We are aware that in view of the confused state of educational aims and practice any pretense at all-inclusiveness could only lead to insincerity. So far as we know, there is at the present time no particular formulation of educational principles that can lay claim to ultimate hierarchical supremacy over others. We prefer, therefore, to indicate as clearly as possible our choice of principle and the grounds which seem to us to support this choice (see Chapters XIV-XVIII). We then invite others to do likewise. We believe this approach to be truly experimental. It at least has the merit of placing other educational workers in positions of responsibility for stating the factual conditions of social life and child development which together constitute the rationale of their chosen principle of organization.

II THE ISOLATION OF MASS EDUCATION

We have now established a fair basis for criticizing our schools, and we have also prepared a background upon which to project considerations leading to a constructive educational program. How well does conventional schooling measure up to the requirement that analysis be made of the deeper tensions and conflicting ideologies and motivations of society and that these then be used positively as factors in their own creative reconstruction?

Nothing is more apparent to the social realist today than that far too many of our conventional public schools in their present overorganized and "intellectualistic" character are quite disjoined from these wider conditions, except in ill-conceived and accidental ways. As a creative, integrating force at work in the reshaping of our civilization, the school today seems relatively impotent. For it has split its strength into dozens of subjects, each with its own pattern and routine, and has thus failed to achieve either unity within or animating

sense of direction and purpose without. It is largely out of tune with the socially constructive aspects of modern science and technology and serves in the main—and for the most part inadvertently—those forces which oppose ordered change.

When it is possible—as now seems so obvious—for devastating international strife and disrupting economic and business crisis to appear in our midst without so much as a warning from educations committed already, at least nominally, to social enlightenment and mutual understanding, we suddenly are made aware of the limited social effects of conventional schooling. When critical self-examination then reveals that the power thus far exerted by the school has been mainly, if externally and unwittingly, on the side of the very pressures which aggravate social tension instead of those which reduce it, we face a definite contraction and possible breakdown of our whole educational system. Nothing less than an organic identification of education with all currents of our group culture, those which our adult judgments reject as well as those which we approve, for the single purpose of encouraging their creative reorientation through the development of an intelligence that is critical and thoroughly indigenous to the social process itself, will serve present and future need.

SCHOOLS REFLECT WIDER CULTURE WITHOUT COPING WITH IT

Because our society has come increasingly to be organized on the basis of division of labor and specialization of effort, it has been quite inevitable—in the absence of an integrating educational philosophy—that the school should reflect a similar orientation toward its own problem. Just as in industry or business each worker is responsible for the efficient perform-

ance of some minute part of the whole productive enterprise, so in the school each educational worker is responsible for only a part of the child's total development. It is much as if the child's growth were merely the summation of a variety of particular, specialized results, brought about without psychological connection with one another. It does not require great imagination to see an analogy between the assembly line of a Ford factory and the systematic passage of groups of children from one teacher to another in the conventional, overcrowded school of today. It is exceedingly difficult, therefore, for the teacher to see the child's education in terms of the wider social interactions which should constitute the true matrix of his growth. Her vision is clouded by excessive attention to the separate elements in a straight-line process of production.

It must be pointed out, however, that our chief educational affliction does not come so much from the divisions and specializations found in life generally as from the corruption of the spirit of achievement that has accompanied these separations. We have witnessed a contraction of the work motive and an exaggeration of the spirit of selfish gain. Education is not merely victim of the sorts of segregations found in our work life, it has suffered the same dislocation of motivation. Of course, the scholarship ideal has helped to isolate the school from life and to emphasize artificial incentives by crystallizing its offerings around logical centers and categories instead of dynamic centers of human concern. Children have been set at numerous tasks of learning which have little to do with one another or with the concrete situations of their lives. The related notion that education is mainly an affair of preparation for the future and, accordingly, that knowledge is something to be got for later use has also helped to accentuate the régime of external appeals. Effort to teach that which is of little or no immediate concern leads inevitably to procrastination and

the need for adventitious reward or its obverse, the penalty of failure.

But the spirit of gain that has been so rapidly developing in life—the exaggerated emphasis upon monetary reward that presses upon us from every side—has accentuated the false motivations. In many schools today it is the mark received by the child, not the quality of the work done by him, that is a chief source of friction. We have observed the morally vicious effects of this false attitude in the reluctance and refusal of some children to do more than the minimum requirements on the ground that “it would not help their grades.” In a great many instances, even in college, students give an impression of expecting to be graded on the bulk of work done rather than on its quality considered in relation to their efforts and abilities. The long use of artificial rewards has helped to form a school in which marks, credits, honors and other such appeals actually are defended as the only way to get effort. Both teachers and parents, little aware of the immoral consequences for their children, hesitate to give up the system on the ground that there would be no incentive to study. Our long and intimate association of moral qualities with material reward has saturated the school from top to bottom with selfish individualism.¹

Thus, the unconsidered preferences that have really shaped the course of education in America have been apologetics for the most questionable phase of our culture—its dominant motivations. The school has reflected the individualism of our wider cultural pattern without coping with it. By this we mean that the coarser, uncriticized motivations of life get into the background and spirit of learning but because they are drawn in uncritically as incentives for the acquiring of ready-made knowledge, there is no leverage for creatively reconstructing

¹ William H. Kilpatrick (ed.), *The Educational Frontier* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933), p. 48.

them. They are treated as final and are more entrenched than ever by the sanctions of use. If intelligence were allowed to emerge as an instrument of criticism, instead of being treated as a servant of acquisition, it should contribute to the reorientation of these motivations. But until very recently educators have not been forced by urgent circumstance to grapple with these wider emotionalized determinants of educational practice. They have never had to come seriously to grips with such a problem as that of redirecting the course of an entire civilization through the reconstruction of its dominant motivations. For life on the whole has been fairly equable and satisfactory. No great social upheaval arose to mar the smooth, habitual operation of our schools, not, that is, till the last decade. Statements of social philosophies have, therefore, been more nominal than real. The educational theories and ideals drawn from them have frequently been verbal platitudes quickly formulated and as quickly forgotten in the interest of immediate performance and efficiency.

True we have been building and expanding in education as in life. Our wanton waste of natural resources and our cruel exploitation of the services of men for private gain were of course boding the coming of social disaster and out of it perhaps an educational realism. But the school was oblivious to these deeper currents of social reality. It could be powerfully influenced by them without even giving them passing academic attention. We were adding numerous activities to our school program, but we were doing so without any considerable efforts to integrate them with the traditional subjects or to reinterpret the whole in the light of the new conditions. We even defended "extracurricular" activities on the ground that their introduction did "not interfere with the curriculum of study."¹

¹ C. W. French. A paper read before the Eighteenth Educational Conference of Academies and High Schools in Relation with the University of Chi-

There has thus been little stimulus or time for conscious integration of the school's activities with the wider complex of activities of life. Practically no attention whatever has been devoted to the ultimate problem of all education, namely, the achievement of a higher lever of adjustment within the conflicting tendencies of society itself. The major problem of how to achieve integration of personality and character on this higher level of participation through identification of the individual with the concrete pushes and pulls of life is almost completely ignored in most of our schools. Most likely there are many who seek solace for their neglect in the inherent difficulties of the situation. For there are competent students who doubt whether individuals can live truly moral lives today if they really identify themselves with the going affairs of our culture. In the degree that the task is difficult and in the degree that it is neglected, there is grave danger that the schools may be guilty of fostering a morality that is completely at variance with the needs of cultural integration.

One illustration of the unfortunate effects of such a complete isolation of the school from the creative currents of life is to be found in the recent dissension regarding the place of controversial issues in the curriculum. When on occasion the method of reflective inquiry is extended to subject-matters dealing with live contemporary social issues, the practice is frowned upon by many as dangerous radicalism. Questions that are inevitably controversial in nature because they are the genuine concerns of people who see life differently are, on the whole, taboo in our schools. According to a prevalent attitude, the topics dealt with must not be too near the hearts of our people. In particular, they must not touch existing patterns of human relationship at those points where the making of money is involved, except of course to show how more may

be got for oneself. There must be no questioning of the way people seek to get ahead. And since a very large proportion of the time of nearly all of us today is concerned with matters of economic importance, we may be quite sure that much of life is denied a place in the curriculum.

EXAGGERATION OF LEARNING ATTITUDE

Study of the social-economic situation, where there has been any at all, has thus proceeded on the assumption that one best learns about one's world by studying it at a distance, not by participating in its realities. The result is that the young have been kept at the usual task of studying adult arrangements of materials which, even though logically relevant to our time and condition, are nevertheless highly abstract and formal. Because practice incorporates an exaggerated emphasis upon the learning attitude, the young have not been led deliberately to feel the pulsating, throbbing world of reality through participation, either actual or vicarious. They have usually been protected from coming into intimate contact with the harsher side of industry, business, government, and even family life itself in many of its less pleasing conditions. How many of our graduates, even of those schools professing to be actuated by a social philosophy, have had a sufficiently sustained and thoughtful contact with big-scale industrial production methods to have even slight appreciation of the inner emotional life of those who carry on the work of the world—how men feel toward their work, what they aspire to, their frustrations and disappointments, and what could and should be done to improve their lot? How many get an immediate, appreciative realization of the meaning of overcrowding in tenements or cheap boarding-houses where intense jealousies, hatreds, and back-biting sometimes mingle with the purest forms of mutual understanding and democratic sharing?

The academic school thus expects the child to learn about the world as it ideally should be before he is allowed to enter it as it actually is, with its conflicts, deprivations and frustrations as well as its ambitions, elations, and successes. Children are expected to get correct knowledge before going into a world in which correct behavior is not only intermingled with the incorrect but has no meaning or identity except as a function and outgrowth of confused situations which are developing at the moment. It is little wonder that our schools are being accused of teaching many social, political, and economic facts which are so oversimplified that they are no longer true when children later go into life and try to act upon them. Knowledge can have no really adequate meaning for an individual unless it is generated critically in situations reflecting the dominant orientations of our culture. This means that the individual must first identify himself with situations in which the deeper sentiments and motivations of the culture converge. It is only in this emotionalized context of participation that self-criticism can aid in bringing to the individual fresh insight and to the culture a critical reorientation of its values. Where knowledge or understanding is assumed to have a prior existence, as is usually the case where subject-matter is set-out-to-be-learned, its acquisition may reflect life's compartmentalizations, cleavages, and diversities of interest, but it can accomplish nothing toward integrating them.

EXAGGERATION OF TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION

That education has assumed a compartmentalized and isolated aspect is further shown by the fact that its chief categories of emphasis are technical rather than interpretative. By this we mean that its mechanism has become more prominent than its purpose. Daily practice consists of numerous efficiency routines and an exaggerated administrative consciousness.

There is excessive attention to the school's own activities. There is no clear distinction between the more obvious procedures of the school and the deeper methodology or controlling principle of socialization by which these immediate procedures should be informed. When attention is drawn too exclusively to such things as multiple curriculums, classification of pupils, scope and sequence of materials, subject quotas to be mastered, "units" to be studied, examinations to be passed, grades to be got, promotions to be accomplished, and all such, we may be sure that schooling has become a thing apart. Great buildings, business management, pupil accounting, and mass regimentations have helped to give substance to the idea of a separate, self-contained purpose and to obscure perception of those finer connections with the community which when taken into account reveal the school as merely the focal point at which society as a whole is becoming critical of its ways. In our more populous centers a rigid hierarchical organization has so intensified its administrative and fiscal functions that both internal unity and social purpose give way to institutional rigidity and inertia. And unfortunately the smaller school that is yet favored with potential flexibility and easy connection with the community moves rapidly toward the pattern of the larger city system with all of its impersonal relations and mass conformities.

It apparently has been assumed that increased efficiency and comprehensiveness along conventional lines of administration, curriculum, and instruction are enough. But the mere extension of existing practices does not fit the new intricacies and demands of the contemporary scene. It is indeed essential that education be better organized, more exact, precise, and refined, as we agree should be the case in business, industry, or government where economies may be promoted and waste eliminated without jeopardizing human participation. But it is also essential that the school achieve radically new orienta-

tions concerning most of its basic premises. One of the deeper difficulties in the school, for instance, as elsewhere in life, is clearly the failure to achieve a working harmony between spontaneity or freedom and organization or control. The lingering conflict in society between personal liberty and institutionalism has its "school" correlate in numerous prohibitory regulations and a minutiae of controls which teachers employ, consciously or unconsciously, in their daily dealings with the young. We have accepted theoretically the idea that the supreme condition of social stability and progress lies in great liberty of thought and action. But in education this quickly suggests a clash between personal freedom and social responsibility. The school has not only failed to work out an equation of these values but has actually exaggerated the conflict between them by identifying it with the practical requirements of lesson learning. It is still widely insisted, for instance, that the conditions of effective learning necessitate "reasonable" orderliness, silence, punctuality, and obedience. It is rarely recognized that such immediate measures are really manifestations of deep social pressures needing integration.

Thus the social principle which our schools have most consistently reflected has been the authority-obedience relationship. But because this principle has been set over against the idea of freedom, it has been interpreted narrowly and has therefore served as an aid in exaggerating the mechanism of the school at the cost of broad social interpretation. Even where freedom has been insisted upon, it frequently has been identified with something immediately associated with children's interests or "needs" and has not been fully recognized as a social issue, much less something to be wrought out. At another extreme, a sort of freedom in overt movement and physical activity is insisted upon because it results in "better application in study" or constitutes "a more satisfactory way

of learning than the traditional textbook procedure." Activities then tend to be ways of indulging childish interests or they turn out as devices for teaching subject-matter.

Where this general attitude prevails, the activity movement is not envisaged as a social conception of education through which freedom of participation is being harmonized with organization and growth in social responsibility. Activities are not seen as the golden key to harmony between personal interest and adult achievement in the critical remaking of institutional values. They are viewed narrowly as instruments of indulgence or as supplementary aids in the transmission of subject-matter. The principle of interest or activity is of primary concern in education because it represents the integrating focus of personal and social values. It is neither a way of indulging whim nor a device for assuring the meaningfulness of experiences or subject matters yet to come.

Considered adequately, the principle of interest and activity is the creative principle of learning itself. It, therefore, suggests the building of new interests, the opening up of fresh vistas of insight and participation. It means dynamic identification with wider and wider events. But such things are not automatic. They are indeed autonomous, but in order to be so they require help from a supporting environment. Without it they represent meaningless dissipation of energy and get nowhere. True interest does not flow undisturbed from children's insides upon a placid world. It actually requires some environmental anomaly for its sufficient condition. It is a positive function of adjustment. Its sufficiency is not in mere identification or absorption. There must be a struggle and a resolution of environmental incompatibilities if there is to be genuine interest. In its true significance, interest is neither a primitive spewing of energy nor a selfish consumption of pleasure. It is a comprehensive line of urgent activity beginning in a situation of disturbed adjustment and

incorporating both the materials of environment and some degree of effective intelligence. Its proper reward is the increment of initiative and power that come from grappling thoughtfully with the unpredicted, but in order to guarantee such growth there must be the guiding help of those of greater experience and maturity.

The more crucial educational aspect of the wider social conflict between freedom and authoritarianism appears, therefore, in connection with the extent to which children shall be held to a responsible share in determining their own choices of action and in building up methods of work through criticism, experimentation, and error. It, of course, includes such related issues as the extent to which children shall be free to discuss questions of a controversial nature and the extent to which materials and outcomes shall be determined and ordered in advance of use. We seek for the new school a way of conceiving organization which begins as a growth and uses adult forms and standards to promote better and better organization in the personal and social relationships of the child. We shall not achieve it, however, so long as schools continue to employ features of community relationship that are narrowly conceived as matters of technique for the transmission of conventional subject-matter.

LACK OF DESIGNED PROGRAM

The school has thus become victim of its own mechanism. This means that it is without a program, if by program we are to mean a projected, guiding hypothesis derived on the basis of social-psychological factors and serving to unify and direct behavior. There is always some underlying bias, of course, which causes preferences for certain materials or procedures rather than others, but such a basis of selection may operate rather unconsciously. It may be due to the force of

habit rather than to any articulate choice. Or it may represent response to the strongest political pressure instead of a genuine synthesis of all claims. It is quite common for school men to speak of their "program" in referring to budgets, classifications, arrangements, and procedures which go on from day to day. But these immediate events and expectations seem more often to be matters of routine than of program, unless we are to think of program in very limited, static terms. They reflect all too rarely the illumination that the purpose to rebuild our social-economic system through education would provide. Practice is not then a place where a theory of the good life is being tried and tested. There is nothing running through it all to provide unity of spirit or consistency of method in dealing with the young. The "program" turns out to be a colorless aggregate of subjects and performances carried forward by the inertia of custom and enjoying the spurious sanction of tradition. Thus innovations thought by some to be more fully in accord with an acceptable social theory are often frowned upon. Incidental experiments are tolerated because they look to greater efficiency in doing what is expected. But a genuinely experimental education—one, that is, which is actuated by a comprehensive directing hypothesis or long-range program reflecting the experimental reorientation of our social institutions—is neglected. The consequence is reluctance and timidity in breaking away from the usual. The habit-residuals of an outmoded practice choke the avenues of progressive change.

With few brilliant exceptions, those charged with administration of our schools have refused steadfastly to face the rather revolutionary changes in materials, arrangements, and procedures which newer insights regarding the function of education impose. They have been willing on occasion to make such minor changes as were fairly easy within the limits of existing administrative organization. But they have rarely

been willing to make bold departures in organization itself, such as would be required by an up-to-date realization of the function of education in a chaotic world.

CURRICULUM IS MERE PATTERN, NOT DESIGN

This means that the conventional school is without design. Its procedures and materials belong to the category of the mosaic whose parts are held together in a mechanical way. The conventional curriculum is a crude pattern instead of a true design. Its formal structure, representing in the main the inertia of past arrangements, is superimposed upon present events and is not the adventurous production of those who execute it and those who are affected by it. Excessive emphasis upon products and conformities dwarfs creative participation. The unique nature of true curriculum design is in the emergent relatedness of its parts as it moves along, not in the static configuration of its consummation. Instead of an aggregate of parts serving separate, fixed functions, we should have elements which emerge together in a developing unity of experience. Pattern should be conceived as only one element in design, not the whole of it. Without an integrating purpose there is mere form. But this purpose must itself be emergent. There is the mistaken notion that when educators themselves entertain a broad social purpose for the school and then project areas of content and pupil participation appropriate to this purpose, the function of design has been served. But this, again, is only an element in true design, albeit an essential one. For the young must themselves have a genuine part. Otherwise, it turns out that the lives of the young are subordinated to the "design" of others. Of course, few would openly admit this. There is, instead, the expressed preference for helping the young build their own design for living, since in the end they should participate as fully as possible in man-

aging their lives. The problem, then, is that of avoiding too central a place for our more mature life design, while at the same time using it as our way of being intelligent in helping the young create a design for themselves.

The curriculum maker should find help in the artist's distinction between the work of art and the product of art. It is the former that suggests vitality, life, meaning, whereas the latter is within itself merely physical and static.¹ This means for education that the design of the curriculum should be ever in the making (see especially Chapter IV). It requires the imaginative touch of youth as well as the wisdom and experience of age. But this does not mean merely making the curriculum on the spot. There is a vast difference between sheer improvisation and genuine creative planning. The former suggests little thought, little use of the experiences of others, whereas the latter suggests an emerging program which continually integrates contributions coming from a wide range of sources and makes intelligent use of children's experiences and their supporting environment. The conventional school has failed miserably at this point. Perhaps its chief delinquency is the static nature of its curriculum. A curriculum is to be interpreted as relatively static whenever it is controlled by persons other than those who execute it, even though frequent modifications may appear. In situations of this kind—still all too common in American schools—we find veiled administrative impotency masquerading as protection of the child from uninformed teacher-improvisation. The teacher is not made to face failure in terms of the limitations of her own insight but rather in terms of requirements made for her or in terms of a "program" already in existence. The planned curriculum thus reflects dubitable qualifications of the teacher, but it assumes no responsibility for stimulating

¹ John Dewey, *Art as Experience* (New York, Minton Balch and Co., 1934), p. 162.

her growth. It serves, instead, as a deterrent to initiative and fails to safeguard the learning and growing of the child. It slurs over the essential unity of curriculum development and teacher growth in creative education.

A REFRACTED CURRICULUM

We have never had in this country a concerted attempt on the part of those who actually guide the educative process to define the central emphasis which the life and program of the school should reflect. Although the need of a social criterion of some sort has usually been admitted, it apparently has been assumed that a profession of social purpose was sufficient. Having given quick, verbal utterance to a faith in the social worth of existing materials and procedures, administrators and teachers have then been free to continue much the same as before. Comprehensive formulations of social objectives have been subject to such diverse meanings that instead of representing a consistent, long-range program of educational and social reconstruction, they have been made the sanctions of divergent, if not opposed, practices. This writer has actually observed the use of such general formulations as justifications of practices which had been seriously questioned. Even where systematic social analysis has been attempted as a step toward a more indigenous curriculum, it usually has been employed by "specialists" having a temper for objective classification and quantitative enumeration rather than for active participation in the moving struggle of life itself. There has been little concern about the deeper motivations of our culture as a whole or their mechanism of criticism and reorientation. Adoring information, yet possessed of too little insight, we have overlooked that the direct appropriation or use of facts relating to the concrete affairs of life is not equivalent to critical identification with the spirit of our culture.

Nothing is plainer than that a split has developed between the spirit of the dominant, controlling forces of life and the immediate, day-to-day needs and aspirations of individuals. As we have already indicated, the situation amounts to a thwarting of man's basic wants and efforts by a superstructure of ruthless culture motivations. But the school has made little or no attempt thus far to find an equation of the two. There has as yet been little earnest effort to bring child life and the culture into a single, integrated unity of spirit and direction. The school has sought here and there a sort of logical unification of its immediate materials, such as we find suggested in correlations, fusions, cores, units, and integrations. But even here it is frequently overlooked that intellectual unification is emotional and, therefore, emergent and operational. As for achieving significant integration of personal aspiration and the overwhelming pressures of the culture, the school, as we have already indicated, has done little or nothing. It has not even attempted seriously to overcome the muddle-headed dualism that exists between work and leisure. If there is any such thing as an emerging class struggle in America, there is no evidence that our schools have done anything in a concerted way to thwart it by building an attitude toward work and play which makes them mutually penetrative. Indeed, the evidence points in the opposite direction. For the curriculum, particularly at the secondary level, continues to reflect the rift between the "liberal" and practical arts. We have allowed a refracted liberalization and narrow vocationalism to serve the accidents of social status and specialized talent at the expense of those qualities of conduct and attitude which would contribute to mutual understanding and social solidarity.

Furthermore, few of our insistently schooled youth get from their teachers any realistic picture of the contemporary social scene from which they may be expected to project worthwhile objects to which they can then devote themselves.

They are not even made acutely aware of the more crucial issues and problems of the moment. The history they study is not a history of the present but a sterile and oversimplified record of the past, divorced from the events which today are submerging peoples and nations in anguish and despair. The science we teach is not an adventure in inquiry from which there comes the hope of a gradual, critical remaking of social institutions and beliefs long out of harmony with material advance. Too often it is either an isolated laboratory discipline or a body of inert, specialized understandings and conclusions to be taught apart from the deeper yearnings of collective humanity. Curriculum investigations have thus far yielded in the main only new subject-matters to be studied and have reflected a formal rather than a practical notion of our wider social organization. It seems dangerously evident that our schools may wreck us if they content themselves with merely trying to transmit such subject-matters without including in their methods and aims enough of the contrary forces of society to help the young cope with them.

It seems quite clear that we can never harmonize the principle of creative self-realization with such forces as those exerted by big-scale industrial production or political corruption or competitive sales practices or commercialized amusements by merely teaching particular facts about them at a distance. Leverage for betterment in these wider affairs can be had only when a temper of criticism is made to emerge within them. Correlatively, creative individuality can at best be only partially developed in our civilization unless its embodiments are the daily pursuits, aspirations, and frustrations of individuals in their ordinary affairs. The mild discontents, the common economic grievances, the intense feelings of insecurity of individuals must be converted into hope, adventure, coöperative enthusiasm, and a feeling of success and adequacy if the creative spirit is to prevail. If we are to build an indigenous

American culture, it must get its support and significance from a substructure of emotionalized concerns in which individuals experience well-being as they struggle to satisfy their basic needs and spiritual aspirations.

FRUSTRATION OF YOUTHFUL IDEALISM

The school of today fails almost completely, therefore, to build any driving social enthusiasms. The typical curriculum, with its static logic and artificially shredded offerings, reflects no unifying ethical passion. The excessive devotion to adult standards of mastery and coverage sickens the spontaneity of the young and degrades their potential eagerness to identify themselves with worthy social causes. In their youthful innocence they would quickly respond to a spirit of courageous devotion to noble ends. They would even "save the world!" But instead of cherishing this facile responsiveness to wholesome ideals by quickening the spirits of youth, by firing their imaginations of a better world, and by sustaining them in their readiness to lose themselves in unselfish service to worthy causes, the academic school soon envelops them in the paralyzing inertia of an unconsidered, calculating morality, from which they may never escape. At first rebellious, they shortly succumb, even though for a time half-heartedly, to the irresistible ideology about them, with all of its subtle, unresolved conflicts.

Moreover, we find in the conventional school only an incidental kind of attention to the confused patterns of thought and attitude that perplex our young today. The conflict between the professed idealism of the school, with its standards of perfect performance, strict honesty, and academic attainment, and the mixed idealism of life itself is simply too much for our youth. They find themselves in a turmoil of emotional conflict. When from a former President of the United States

comes the authoritative assurance that "the best thing the millions of our youth can do to insure their future success is to work thoughtfully at their studies," and when these young people then turn to life only to find that it is not always those who are well-prepared, honest, or industrious who succeed, according to life's apparent measure of success, they become skeptical about the fine idealism which has been held up to them in the school. When they discover that one cannot always expect justice, even when he gives it, they are confused and begin to wonder whether the preachments about democracy and fair play are not insincere or downright hypocritical. The more sensitive young people either become cynical and withdraw into silent resentment or they become so embittered that they rebel inwardly while outwardly conforming in some degree to expectations. The less thoughtful ones are more impulsive and overt in their revolt because they are not fully sensitive to the nature of the conflicts of which they are the victims. The consequence, in all such instances, is that the school is guilty of creating "problem" children.¹ The discrepancy between the promises, standards, and sanctions of the school, on the one hand, and the brute facts of life, on the other, is too devastating. But the worst of the school's delinquency here is its ignorant or willful neglect of responsibility for the pathological complicities for which it is clearly guilty. Clinical evidence now points unmistakably to the numerous emotional disturbances and breakdowns of youth caused in part at least by the school. We can understand how the school, being a reflection of the belief that success in life is highly correlated with academic success, would exaggerate an abstract idealism. We can also understand how, in view of the inevitable interactions of institutions, the school would reflect inconsistencies within its own general method of

¹ James S. Plant, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern* (New York, The Commonwealth Fund, 1937), p. 273.

dealing with the young. But we fail to find any justification for the long delay in accepting responsibility for the disillusionments and frustrations so universally experienced by our youth today.

Thus, the school's continued devotion to the examination-mastery of subject-matter and its highly institutionalized system of marks, credits, promotions, and failures have had some part, no doubt, in the creation of the spirit of revolt and lawlessness proclaimed everywhere today as a characteristic of modern youth.

Although it would be difficult to prove that the school has contributed as positively to public apathy and irresponsibility as other forces which shape the lives of youth, it is not difficult to point out features of school practice which are in harmony with the spirit of these wider conditioning forces. Indifference to social controls is a function of authoritative imposition. Individuals cannot warm up to regulations set by others, whether in life or in school, for they cannot be fully intelligent about them. The "reasonable" standards set by the conventional school are very different from the standards which the young, with the aid of adults, would build for themselves. Although the young usually acquiesce in the standards and purposes we set, they may do so as a matter of routine or in order to be agreeable and to avoid social disapproval rather than because those aims or patterns are the critical dictates of their own consenting intelligence. As the teacher or school continues to fix courses of action and to appraise attainment, the student may not only finally cease to rebel, but he may actually learn to expect such dictation. Later, however, when he leaves the school environment in which he has learned to rely on a rather personal administration of control, he suddenly finds himself thrown upon his own, as it were, with no one to tell him what to do, when to do it, how well it is done, or when to go on to the next

undertaking. Consequently, his conduct may reveal every sign of social indifference, selfishness, and irresponsibility. The teacher and the ready-made standards of the school have deprived the child of any self-felt need for growing in the ability and disposition to respond to the meanings and requirements of the situations he meets.

Part II

THE CREATIVE RESOURCES OF AMERICA

To this point we have completed the first important phase of our study of democracy and the curriculum—namely, the social order and the school. Using the same words in which, in Chapter I, we stated our task we can say that we have now studied

- American culture, its distinctive characteristics and insistent problems . . . its merits and potential assets as well as its actual liabilities, stresses and strains, and imminent dangers . . . all of these together with the great social movements that produced them.
- Youth growing up in this actual American culture . . . molded and stamped by its pressures . . . thwarted by its economic and psychological impasses.
- The American school set up in the first stage of industrial society . . . product of the initial hectic building of literacy schools for the education of all the children of all the people . . . admittedly a formal mechanism lacking dynamic functioning power

In Part II we turn to our second major task; namely, the creative resources with which we can move toward the reconstruction of American life. We have already

established the fact (Chapter III) that there is available a giant potential for the production of economic plenty for every man, woman and child on the continent. Now we shall appraise, in Chapters VII, VIII, IX, X, and XI, the creative resources of the American people, especially the resources in the unique American democratic tradition and in the emerging power in the creative artists and the creative students of the culture.

Chapter VII

THE PROMISE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY¹



As American teachers seek guidance for the reconstruction of the program of the school to meet the economic, political, and general cultural crisis of the current age, they are driven inevitably to the central ethical tradition of their people—the tradition of democracy. If this resource is found wanting, the hope that the school may prove to be a vital force in building the future will be without adequate foundation. Education as a creative factor in history is dependent on the democratic conception of society and the democratic way of life. It is the object of this chapter to examine the American democratic tradition—its authenticity, its origins, its nature yesterday, its status today, its assets and liabilities, its prospects for tomorrow.

AUTHENTICITY OF THE AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC TRADITION

The authenticity of American democracy cannot be successfully challenged. Whatever its defects and limitations, and these have always been many and severe, it was and is one of the realities of history. The record seems to show that for generations the North American continent has been the scene of a bold and humane experiment in the field of social rela-

¹ This chapter was adapted from *The Prospects of American Democracy* by George S. Counts

tionships. Certainly such has been the conviction of the American people themselves and of ordinary men and women throughout the world. The fact that during the single century from 1820 to 1920 approximately thirty-four million persons crossed the Atlantic, always with heartaches and often in the face of great hardship, is sufficient testimony to the substance of this conviction. The virtually unbounded economic opportunities of the country admittedly provided the fundamental motivation of this greatest migration of history, but those opportunities were the product of social and political institutions, of prevailing conceptions of society and human worth, no less than of geography. The meaning of America for the oppressed of Europe during the century following the establishment of the Republic is clearly expressed in these lines by William Blake written about 1793

Why should I care for the men of Thames,
Or the cheating waves of cha'tei'd streams,
Or shunk at the little blasts of fear
That the hireling blows into my ear?

Tho' born on the cheating banks of Thames,
Tho' his waters bathed my infant limbs,
The Ohio shall wash his stains from me
I was born a slave, but I go to be free.¹

ORIGINS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

At the heart of American democracy is a great ethical conception that can be traced back to the beginnings of recorded history—the conception of the fundamental equality, brotherhood, and moral worth of all men. This conception has grown out of the deepest experiences of common people, has pervaded the life and work of the greatest prophets of the race,

¹ William Blake, *The Writings of William Blake* (Edited by Geoffrey Keynes, London, 1925), Vol I, p. 224.

has expressed, motivated, and rendered significant innumerable struggles against tyranny and oppression. It is rooted in the life of free Athens and republican Rome, in the central ethical teachings of Christianity, in the political experience of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, in all the great liberating and humanizing movements of the modern age—the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and the English and French revolutions, in the repudiation of feudal institutions, the rise of the middle classes, the awakening of working men, the reconciliation of peoples, the emancipation of women, and the recognition of the personality of the child, in the overthrow of authoritarianism in church and state, the development of faith in the human mind, the advance of science and technology, and the spread of a naturalistic outlook upon the world.

This great conception, present though generally unapplied in that culture which the emigrants from the Old World brought to the New, found conditions attending the discovery, settlement, and conquest of the North American continent peculiarly favorable for its development and flowering—the widening of human horizons, the breaking of ties with the past, the compulsion toward adventure and experimentation, the unprecedented extension of opportunity to the individual, and the simplicity of economic and social life. In imperishable form it was proclaimed in that sublime affirmation of popular rights—the Declaration of Independence. Although in the case of various racial and class elements in the nation this charter of democracy has been grievously violated again and again, even those who have profaned it in deed have hesitated to denounce it in word. Though forgotten or relegated to the copy-books of the schoolroom during periods of tranquility, the American people return to it almost instinctively in times of stress for inspiration and guidance. They are turning to it today.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY YESTERDAY

Historically, however, American democracy was more than an ethical *conception*. If it had been only a construction of the mind, if it had never been translated into attitudes, ways of life, and social structure, it would scarcely be worth recording. To the extent that democracy achieved special significance in America, it was expressed in the sentiments, the customs, the social arrangements, the modes of living of the people. And for those who are concerned about the future of democratic ideas and values, the beginning of wisdom lies in the recognition of the fact that historically American democracy has assumed at least three forms—economic, social, and political. To identify it wholly with its political manifestation, important as that is, would be to play into the hands of the enemy. Democracy is far more than a form of government. Indeed, if it is to place its stamp upon government, it must prevail beyond the bounds of politics. It is an attitude of mind to which the exploitation of man by man is abhorrent, a way of life in which human personality is judged of supreme, of measureless worth, an order of social relationships dedicated to the promotion of the individual and collective interests of common folk—in a word, it is a society “of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

The most fundamental form of early American democracy was economic. This was clearly seen by a brilliant young Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, who just over a hundred years ago came to the United States, traveled widely through the country, observed closely institutions and modes of life, brought to bear upon his observations deep philosophical insight, and returned to France to write a two-volume work on *Democracy in America*—the most penetrating study of American society and civilization ever made by a foreign scholar and one of the truly great political works of the nineteenth

century. Tocqueville begins his analysis with a reference, not to politics, but to economics ¹

Amongst the novel objects that attracted my attention during my stay in the United States, nothing struck me more forcibly than the general equality of condition among the people. I readily discovered the prodigious influence which this primary fact exercises on the whole course of society, it gives a peculiar direction to public opinion, and a peculiar tenor to the laws, it imparts new maxims to the governing authorities, and peculiar habits to the governed.

I soon perceived that the influence of this fact extends far beyond the political character and the laws of the country, and that it has no less empire over civil society than over the government, it creates opinions, gives birth to new sentiments, founds novel customs, and modifies whatever it does not produce. The more I advanced in the study of American society, the more I perceived that this equality of condition is the fundamental fact from which all others seem to be derived, and the central point at which all my observations constantly terminated.

Although an effort was made in colonial times to establish a quasi-feudal régime, feudalism simply could not survive in America. Under the impact of new and strange conditions of life—the act of crossing the Atlantic, the distance from the cultural homeland, the selective character of the migration, the abundance of land and natural resources, the expanse of territory, the sparseness of population, the primitive means of transportation and communication, the reversion to a relatively simple economic and social pattern, the almost universal necessity of manual labor, the absence of both the material and spiritual manifestations of an old and settled community, and the comparatively free play of all those forces which in the western world were undermining the medieval system—under the impact of these conditions there developed an economy that, strictly speaking, was neither feudal nor capitalistic.

In the days of the founding fathers and until the rise of

¹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York, 1898), I, 1.

the present industrial order, America for the most part was a land of freehold farmers living a life of relative self-sufficiency and independence. According to an estimate by James Truslow Adams, of a total population of two hundred and six thousand in the twelve colonies in 1689, "nearly two hundred thousand persons must have been living either on isolated farms or in little communities of a few score souls, at most a few score families."¹ In the Constitutional Convention of 1787 Gouverneur Morris stated that "nine-tenths of the people are at present free-holders." There were, to be sure, slaves and slave-owners in the south, money-lenders in the north, a budding commercial class in the towns, land speculators everywhere, and a considerable body of persons recruited from the indolent, the unfortunate, the grievously handicapped, and the recent immigrants, who were without productive property. Also among the freeholders there were fairly wide differences in circumstance, depending on inheritance, habits of industry, proximity to town and trading center, and the accidents of fortune generally. But all necessary allowances made, the fact remains that in the time of Jefferson the American economy was marked by an extraordinary measure of equality.

The major economic fact regarding the ordinary American citizen of the period was not that he was a farmer holding title to his land, but rather that he was much more than a farmer. With his sons he was also a hunter, a trapper, a fisherman, a butcher, a tanner, a cobbler, a carpenter, a mechanic, a mason, a "jack-of-all-trades", while his wife and daughters, besides "keeping house" in the current sense, were adept in all the arts associated with the curing of foods and the preparation of clothing. His household was almost an entire economy in microcosm. As Horace Bushnell said, "the house was

¹ James Truslow Adams, *Provincial Society 1690-1763* (New York, 1928), p. 12.

a factory on the farm, the farm a grower and producer for the house."¹ More than a generation ago, in 1885, Henry P. Hedges thus described the self-sufficiency of the farmer of Suffolk County, New York, a hundred years before²

From his feet to his head the farmer stood in vestment produced on his own farm. The leather of his shoes came from the hides of his own cattle. The linen and woolen that he wore were products that he raised. The farmer's wife or daughter, braided and sewed the straw-hat on his head. His fur cap was made from the skin of a fox he shot. The feathers of wild fowl in the bed whereon he rested his weary frame by night, were the results acquired in his shooting. The pillow-cases, sheets and blankets, the comfortables, quilts and counterpanes, the towels and table cloth were home made. His harness and lines he cut from hides grown on his farm. Everything about his ox yoke except staple and ring he made. His whip, his ox gad, his flail, axe, hoe and fork-handle, were his own work. How little he bought, and how much he contrived to supply his wants by home manufacture would astonish this generation.

This equality of condition, founded though it was on unremitting toil, not a little privation, and an extreme simplicity of living, gave to the individual that independence and dignity which have always characterized the American farmer and distinguished him from the European peasant. Out of this complex of forces arose the second form or expression of American democracy—an actual sense of equality in the ordinary social relationships. On the frontier where the past was forgotten, on the freehold farms where all men engaged in similar activities, in the hard struggle with the raw forces of nature where false pretensions were quickly exposed; in the sustained fight for independence where community of interest promoted a feeling of fraternity and the exigencies of the struggle called for the propagation of democratic ideas, the

¹ Horace Bushnell, "The Age of Homespun" in *Work and Play* (New York, 1864), p. 392.

² Henry P. Hedges, "Development of Agriculture in Suffolk County," in *Bi-Centennial History of Suffolk County* (Babylon, N. Y., 1885), p. 42.

feudal mentality was all but obliterated and a passion for social equality was widely propagated.

Of profound significance in promoting this sense of social equality was the practical absence of occupational differentiation. Percy Wells Bidwell, in his study of rural economy in New England at the opening of the last century shows that with the possible exception of the clergyman the ownership and cultivation of land constituted the main source of livelihood for all, even for that small minority that also practised other callings. The representatives of the artisan, business, and professional classes were "standing on the borderline between agriculture and specialized non-agricultural occupations. They were at times doctors, lawyers, innkeepers or storekeepers, fullers, carpenters, or tanners, but most of the time plain farmers. Thus we can see that the distinction between various occupations which we had set up for purposes of analysis tends to vanish. The broad outlines of a future division of employments were marked out, but the process of separation was as yet hardly begun."¹

A manifestation of the idea of social equality, often recorded by observers, was that of personal independence. "The generality of servants that are met with in Philadelphia," writes Isaac Weld, Jr., an Irishman who visited the United States toward the close of the eighteenth century, "are emigrant Europeans, they, however, for the most part, only remain in service until they can save a little money, when they constantly quit their masters, being led to do so by that desire for independence which is so natural to the mind of man, and which every person in America may enjoy that will be industrious."² The absence of servile manner and spirit on the part of persons engaged in personal service was often com-

¹ Percy Wells Bidwell, *Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, 1916), 266.

² Isaac Weld, Jr., *Travels Through the States of North America* (Second Edition, London, 1799), Vol. I, p. 130.

mented upon by travelers, sometimes with approval and sometimes not. Weld experienced great difficulty in persuading attendants at taverns "to rub down" his horse, "or even to give him his food." Some attendants, he writes, "are so sullen and disobliging that you feel inclined to do every thing with your own hands rather than be indebted to them for their assistance. they always appear doubtful whether they should do anything for you or not, and to be reasoning within themselves, whether it is not too great a departure from the rules of equality to take the horse of another man, and whether it would not be a pleasing sight to see a gentleman strip off his coat, and go to work for himself, nor will money make them alter their conduct, civility, as I before said, is not to be purchased at any expence in America."¹

Perhaps nowhere is this old American sense of social equality expressed more succinctly than in a letter which Benjamin Franklin gave to the English press shortly after the Revolution in response to inquiries from persons interested in migrating to the United States. This letter, entitled *To Those Who Would Remove to America*, contains the following passage which could have been written by a citizen of no other country.²

. . . it cannot be worth any man's while, who has a means of living at home, to expatriate himself, in hopes of obtaining a profitable civil office in America, and, as to military offices, they are at an end with the war, the armies being disbanded. Much less is it advisable for a person to go thither, who has no other quality to recommend him but his birth. In Europe it has indeed its value, but it is a commodity that cannot be carried to a worse market than that of America, where people do not inquire concerning a stranger, *What is he?* but, *What can he do?* If he has any useful art, he is welcome, and if he exercises it, and behaves well, he will be respected by all that know him, but a mere man of quality, who, on that account, wants to live

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115

² Jared Sparks, *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Boston, 1836), Vol. II, pp. 469-470

upon the public, by some office or salary, will be despised and disregarded. The husbandman is in honor there, and even the mechanic, because their employments are useful. The people have a saying, that God Almighty is himself a mechanic, the greatest in the universe, and he is respected and admired more for the variety, ingenuity, and utility of his handiworks, than for the antiquity of his family. They are pleased with the observation of a negro, and frequently mention it, that *Boccarora* (meaning the white man) *make de black man workee, make de horse workee, make de ox workee, make ebery ting workee, only de hog. He, de hog, no workee, he eat, he drink, he walk about, he go to sleep when he please, he live like a gempleman*. According to these opinions of the Americans, one of them would think himself more obliged to a genealogist, who could prove for him that his ancestors and relations for ten generations had been ploughmen, smiths, carpenters, turners, weavers, tanners, or even shoemakers, and consequently that they were useful members of society; than if he could only prove that they were gentlemen, doing nothing of value, but living idly on the labor of others, mere *fruges consumere nati*, and otherwise *good for nothing*, till by their death their estates, like the carcass of the negro's gentleman-hog, come to be *cut up*.

The third expression of democracy appeared in the political sphere. Through the generations, from the days of the first settlements of Jamestown and Plymouth down to the present, the American people, building on Anglo-Saxon experience and traditions, have fought without ceasing for control over the institutions of government. But the interest at this point in the argument is in that seventy-five year period following the expulsion of French power from North America under the provisions of the treaty of 1763 during which the foundations of political democracy were laid. This period witnessed the proclamation of the Declaration of Independence, the waging of the Revolutionary War, the formulation of the Articles of Confederation, the Shays' and Whiskey rebellions, the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the amendment of the Bill of Rights, the rise of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy, the general acceptance of the principle of univer-

sal white manhood suffrage, the overthrow of the doctrine of aristocratic rule, and an enormous amount of state and local political agitation, activity, and thought. This struggle of political liberty, limited though it was to one race and one sex, was a glorious one—one of the most glorious and successful in history.

The point to be emphasized here, however, is that underlying and shaping this struggle were the new conditions of life which for generations had been slowly undermining the mentality bred of feudal institutions. On the farms and along the advancing frontier the European serf, peasant, proletarian, or tradesman had been gradually losing that attitude of servility toward his "betters" which had seemed in harmony with the laws of nature in the Old World. The story of this transformation, of the emergency of a democracy of freehold farmers prepared to fight the battles of political democracy, was told by Frederick Jackson Turner a generation ago. For men, free, secure, and independent in the economic realm, to submit to political tyranny is unthinkable. The actual historical relationship between political and economic democracy was perhaps stated most clearly and unequivocally by J. Franklin Jameson, eminent historian and scholar, in the following passage from a lecture delivered at Princeton University in 1925.¹

The doctrine which underlies the present lecture is that political democracy came to the United States as a result of economic democracy, that this nation came to be marked by political institutions of a democratic type because it had, still earlier, come to be characterized in its economic life by democratic arrangements and practices. We do not look to see effects precede causes, and certainly political democracy came among us somewhat late, certainly long after the Revolution in most states. If we take manhood suffrage as the most convenient symbol of political democracy, we have to say that it was

¹ J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Princeton, 1926), pp. 41-42.

1840 before manhood suffrage came at all close to being the universal rule of American political life. Long before this, however, America stood committed to economic democracy which meant, in a country so occupied with agriculture, to the system of landholding which the classical economists called "peasant proprietorship," the system of small holdings where landowner, capitalist or farmer, and laborer are all one, the owner of the land supplying the capital and working the fields with his own labor and that of his family.

When Jefferson declared that "those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God," he was at the same time glorifying the ordinary American citizen of the age and asserting the dependence of politics on economics. According to this view, a free government can remain free in fact only so long as it rests on free men. And men cannot be made free by having political rights bestowed upon them. They are made free or are enslaved by the conditions under which they live and gain their livelihood. If those conditions encourage in them a spirit of independence, dignity, and integrity, then they will be free and capable of establishing and maintaining free government. The freehold farmer, given the economy and laws of property of the time, was a *free man*. In the words of John Melish, a manufacturer of Glasgow who visited the United States several times between 1806 and 1811, "to view the American character fairly, we must go into the interior of the country, and there the first remark will probably be, that the inhabitants have a spirit of independence, and will brook no superiority. Every man is conscious of his own political importance and will suffer none to treat him with disrespect."¹

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY TODAY

American democracy today bears little resemblance to that of yesterday. The closing of the frontier and the rise of in-

¹ John Melish, *Travels in the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1812), Vol. I, p. 44.

dustrial civilization have profoundly transformed the simple agrarian society of the times of Jefferson and Jackson, but whether there is more or less of democracy now than formerly depends upon definitions. Some say that it has all but disappeared, while others see a steady march of democracy from colonial days down to the present. Arthur Meier Schlesinger, taking into account the diverse manifestations of democracy and striving to strike a balance between the advances and retreats, concludes that it reached its highest point about 1870, or to put the matter conversely, as he does, "aristocracy in America appeared to have reached the nadir of its decline shortly after the Civil War."¹ The most fruitful approach to the question would seem to be an examination of the present status of the several forms of democracy.

The dominant fact in the situation perhaps is that the economic foundations of American democracy have been destroyed. The freehold farmer who fought the great battles for popular rule has declined in proportionate numbers until now he constitutes but a minority of the population—a single element in an occupational configuration of extraordinary complexity. According to T. M. Sogge, in 1930 only 12.4 per cent of the 48,829,920 persons gainfully employed in the United States were classified as farmers. An additional 9.0 per cent were placed in the category of farm laborers, approximately one-half of whom were "members of the family working on the home farm." Of the remainder 37.9 per cent were industrial wage-earners, 14.6 per cent lower salaried employes, 8.7 per cent proprietors and officials, 7.9 per cent professional workers, 4.1 per cent servants, and 5.4 per cent unclassified.²

The farmer of the 1930 census, moreover, should not be

¹ Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1928), p. 93.

² Tillman M. Sogge, "Industrial Classes in the United States in 1930" in *Journal of American Statistical Association*, June, 1933.

confused with the freehold farmer to whom Gouverneur Morris referred in the Constitutional Convention. His attachment to his land is comparatively attenuated, and the support which his land gives him is relatively precarious. In more than 40 per cent of the cases he is a tenant. In similar proportion the holding of the farm owner is mortgaged, with an average ratio of mortgage to farm value of approximately 40 per cent. Equally important is the changed relation of the farm to the total economy. In 1800 the rural household was relatively self-contained, deriving from the soil the needed raw materials and fabricating in the house the finished articles of consumption. Today farming is a highly specialized calling, part of a far-flung and closely integrated economic structure dominated by the market. In a word, the farmer has lost control over his livelihood and has thus lost his independence.

The changing fortunes of economic democracy in America, however, are not to be understood merely in terms of the passing of the self-contained rural household, the rout of Jefferson's freehold farmers, and the emergence of a new and marvelously intricate and complex occupational configuration. Of even greater significance is the concentration of economic power which has marched hand in hand with the conquest of the continent and the growth of industrialism. The fact of concentration need not be dwelt upon unduly, nor documented. It imposes itself starkly on all who read the newspapers, attend the movies, listen to the radio, or even take the trouble to observe casually the world in which they live. Scholarship has done no more than refine and make more precise the observations and judgments of the ordinary citizen.

During the nineteenth century, as the old household economy decayed and disappeared, an aristocracy of industrial capitalism arose. This new aristocracy, composed in its origins

of daring, inventive, forceful, ambitious, and ruthless men, created the present national economic structure and gained practical control of the economic life of the nation.¹ It grew out of the merchant and financial classes of colonial times, recruiting new members from farming, laboring, and other elements. It stood on the rights of private property guaranteed in federal constitution and judicial decision. It seized the opportunities associated with the exploitation of a fabulously rich continent and a rapidly expanding population. It promoted and utilized technology and mechanical invention to the full, employing new devices of economic organization and financial manipulation such as the corporation, the stock market, and monopoly. It destroyed with the assistance of northern and western farmers the rival slave-holding aristocracy of the South. It took into its service the ablest talent of the legal profession, and gained substantial control of the press, the school, and even the church. Finally, it bent to its purposes the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government.

As a result of this peaceful revolution in the economy the overwhelming majority of the American people find themselves today practically without title to productive property and with but little control over their economic destiny. While figures of precision are wanting and the estimates of competent authorities vary, it seems reasonably safe to assume that the percentage of the gainfully employed whose livelihood is dependent wholly or mainly on the ownership of the means of production lies somewhere between ten and twenty. According to Sogge's analysis of the 1930 census, the

¹ This story is well told in Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1927), Vol. II, Louis M. Hacker, *The United States Since 1865* (New York, 1932), Ferdinand Lundberg, *America's 60 Families* (New York, 1937), Gustavus Myers, *History of the Great American Fortunes* (Modern Library Edition, New York, 1936), and Ida M. Tarbell, *The Nationalizing of Business 1878-1898* (New York, 1936).

two categories of the "gainfully employed" whose work bore an immediate relation to ownership of productive property, "farmers" and "proprietors and officials," embraced respectively but 12.4 and 8.7 per cent of the total. The character of the first group has already been described. The second embraces not only *bona fide* proprietors, but also managers and superintendents of both large and small enterprises, commercial travelers and real estate and insurance agents, even auctioneers, hucksters, peddlers, and boarding-house keepers. "However one approaches the problem of income distribution," writes Ferdinand Lundberg after a careful and comprehensive study of the matter, "one is confronted with substantially the same conclusion: fewer than 20 per cent of the people possess nearly everything while 80 per cent own practically nothing except chattels. Wealth itself has become monopolized."¹ And the great numerical majority of this 20 per cent are in a sense but vestiges from the past—holders of small property, farmers, shopkeepers, and the "little fellows" of industry who for the most part have been fighting a losing battle with their larger and more powerful competitors. In the distribution of ownership of productive property the condition of the American people has been practically reversed in little more than a century. In the time of Jefferson probably at least 80 per cent of the people gained their livelihood through the ownership and personal operation of productive property.

Although a new aristocracy has emerged in America, in superficial respects one of the most powerful in history, democracy in the ordinary social relationships is still fairly characteristic of the masses of the American people. In comparison with other nations they place relatively little store by ancestry, family, and social position; they still are inclined to judge an individual by his own powers and achievements. And

¹ *Op cit*, p. 48

yet, not being institutionalized, this form of democracy can scarcely be expected long to survive the disappearance of its economic foundations. Indeed, historically, it has been hardly more than a reflection in the sphere of social relationships of a widespread freehold agriculture in which the great majority of people followed the same occupations and "the young farm hand" advanced almost universally to land ownership.

To the close observer, moreover, the old sense of social equality manifests signs of decay. The feeling of caste is everywhere emergent, the search for ancestors and the dispensing of titles have become a profitable business; and exclusive clubs, country estates, and private hunting grounds dot the land. Wide differences in modes of life, in standards of expenditure, in cultural opportunities, in the actual exercise of power all combine to create differences in self-esteem and outlook. In the presence of the facts of property ownership and the human relations engendered by them, professions and even honest convictions of social democracy lose their reality and become but a cloak for hypocrisy. The growing advocacy of social doctrines of human inequality on "scientific" grounds by "scientists" is the expected fruit of gross economic inequality and constitutes the ethical foundation for the establishment in America of the "leader principle" of fascism.

The century which has seen the rise of an economic aristocracy has also witnessed an almost uninterrupted advance of political democracy. By 1856 white manhood suffrage had become universal throughout the nation, in 1863 the Proclamation of Emancipation destroyed the legal foundations of Negro slavery, in 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution formally bestowed full rights of citizenship upon male Negroes, in 1913 the Seventeenth Amendment abolished the indirect election of senators and gave the people direct control over the upper house of the Congress;

in 1920 the Nineteenth Amendment crowned with success the long fight of women for equal political rights; and in 1937 President Roosevelt shattered the carefully nurtured aura of sanctity surrounding the Supreme Court and inaugurated a struggle to make the whole federal judiciary more responsive to popular interests and changing conditions. Today practically the entire edifice erected in the Convention of 1787 for the frank and avowed purpose of keeping the control of the three branches of the federal government out of the hands of the populace lies in ruins. At the same time, in the realm of state and local government the formal process of democratization has marched from one conquest to another. While much remains to be done before the ideal form of political democracy is achieved, a form suited to the structure and character of industrial society, the advances have been fairly steady and substantial. In theory at least the American people are in a position to make their political institutions serve their purposes. An informed, determined, and united popular will cannot be thwarted long at the polls.

AN APPRAISAL

Any precise appraisal of the vitality, the strength, and the potentialities of the democratic tradition and the democratic process in America today is of course impossible. How great a resource for education this heritage is cannot be accurately gauged. Much will certainly depend on the unfoldment of the historic process over which the masses of the people have only very limited control—the emergence of gifted leadership, the movements of mob psychology, the course of the international struggle, the hapless succession of events. Also in every society may be found relatively abiding elements and factors which are favorable or unfavorable to the perdurance of democratic values and procedures—geographical,

historical, cultural, psychological. In some the favorable will appear to outweigh the unfavorable, while in others the reverse will be true. It is proposed here to examine the resources of the American people and to assess the liabilities and assets with which they enter what may prove to be their greatest struggle for democracy since 1776.

SOME LIABILITIES

The liabilities in the American cultural heritage and social structure, as already apparent, are many and severe. While they are probably not all known today, some waiting to be revealed by the course of events, it would seem that no informed observer could omit any one of the following from the catalog: the concentration of economic power, the complexities of industrial society, the legacy of economic individualism, the symbols and loyalties of a great heritage, the rise of chronic unemployment and relief, the long tradition of violence and intolerance, and the "system of checks and balances." The fact of these liabilities should be faced squarely and honestly by the teachers of the nation. If they are to be intelligent actors on the present stage of their country's history, they must resolutely refuse to gloss over the unpleasant features of the social order.

The greatest liability of all, of course, is that essential negation of democracy in the social structure, that concentration of economic power in a few hands which has accompanied the rise of industrial civilization. In fact, as pointed out above and as far-sighted men and women have foreseen since the early years of the Republic, the current threat to democracy comes from this quarter. A new aristocracy, already deeply rooted in the past, founded on long cherished ideas and practices and entrenched behind custom, statute, and judicial interpretation, has steadily and rapidly achieved a large measure of control

over the citadels of substantial authority and power in the nation—the means of livelihood, the organs of news and opinion, and even the institutions of government. Standing on premises widely accepted in society and preaching doctrines harmonious with popular prejudices, this new aristocracy has subdued its rivals and today can be challenged successfully only by the organized opposition of an informed and united people.

The complexities of industrial society constitute a second and major liability. If the road of political democracy looked difficult and hazardous in the closing years of the eighteenth century, how much more so must it appear today. Then life was lived for the most part in families and rural neighborhoods, in face-to-face groups in which the citizen saw at first hand much of what went on in his world, today life is carried on in a society of almost incomprehensible vastness and intricacy, embracing the whole nation and reaching out to the uttermost ends of the earth, a society in which the individual can observe directly only the smallest fraction of the events which may profoundly affect his fortunes. Never before in history has man had experience in such a far-flung empire bound together in intimate interdependence by the fruits of science, technology and invention, by railroads, steamships, automobiles, and airplanes, by telegraph, telephone, and radio—an interdependence so delicate that the Kansas farmer or the shoe-clerk in Chicago may feel almost immediately repercussions from a war in China, a rebellion in Spain, a drought in Australia, or an invention in Germany. Events occurring far beyond his range of vision or knowledge may influence his life more than the happenings of his immediate neighborhood.

A third liability grows out of the fact that the old American democracy was founded largely on economic individualism, on private ownership and management of small productive

property, the new American democracy, if such an order of society is to survive in the United States, will have to be based in considerable measure on some kind of social or cooperative ownership, management, and regulation of large productive property. The great majority of the population, having lived in the relatively recent past under the system of freehold farming, are the possessors of a legacy of ideas, attitudes, and loyalties which unfits them for building the only type of democracy possible under the conditions of industrial civilization. Thus they are easy prey for those representatives of the aristocracy who would thwart all popular efforts to gain control of economic power. There is a deep contradiction between the mentality inherited from the past and the economic reality of the present.

A closely related liability is found in the symbols and loyalties of a great heritage. The foregoing observation suggests that a nation may become enslaved by its own achievements. That the American people possess a great moral and political heritage cannot be disputed. Through their revolution they proclaimed to the world ideas of popular liberty and conceptions of government which rocked the foundations of autocracy in the countries of Europe and kindled a spirit of revolt in masses of ordinary men and women in many lands. Then under the great leaders of democracy they advanced from victory to victory and demonstrated their ability to govern themselves, if not to the complete satisfaction of their friends, at least to the severe discomfiture of their enemies. Throughout most of the nineteenth century America was the symbol and champion of the democratic principle in human society. The average citizen, convinced that the United States has marched in the vanguard of the struggle against tyranny, is proud, and rightly so, of his country's history. He is therefore deeply patriotic and easily roused to anger by any attempt to tarnish the glory of his fathers. In the present

critical period this great heritage is both a liability and an asset. It is an asset, if the American people understand it and remain loyal to its spirit, it is a liability, if they attach their allegiance wholly to its historic symbols. It is an asset, if those who are fighting the battles of democracy today make it their own and build upon it, it is a liability, if they repudiate its substance as well as its outworn forms and thus permit the opposition to assume undisputed guardianship over a glorious past.

A fifth liability is the spread of spectacles and circuses. With the rise of industrial society the ordinary citizen has tended to shift his attention from civic to other interests. Although his hours of labor have been greatly reduced and his hours of leisure correspondingly increased, he apparently has less time for politics. Whether by chance or design, whether by the blind operation of the commercial motive in exploiting the free time of the people or by the deliberate attempt to keep the popular mind from dwelling on economic and social questions, the average voter finds his hours away from work crowded with activities of a non-political character. He must witness a baseball game, attend a prize-fight, play a game of bridge, see the latest movie, go to a dance, listen to his favorite episode on the radio, drive as far as possible in one direction and back in his automobile, follow the fortunes of the mythical characters of the funny strip, and read the highly colored accounts of current crimes and scandals as given in his daily newspaper. He lives from one sensation to another. The time and energy left for a sober study of social problems and issues, arising in a world immeasurably more complex and confusing than the world of his great grandfather, would seem to be wholly inadequate for the task.

The rise of chronic unemployment and relief is a liability of great explosive power. Since the beginnings of the present complex industrial order with its factories, markets, cities,

and delicate economic fabric, men have known and feared the scourge of unemployment. During periods of crisis the number of working people seeking jobs, and unable to find them, becomes a vast army, reaching in the recent depression the extraordinary figure of between thirteen and sixteen millions. Even in good or ordinary times society has grown accustomed to the phenomenon of "normal unemployment," which amounted to approximately one million before the World War, two millions in the nineteen twenties, and six millions or more in 1937. In addition, the present epoch has witnessed the closing of the door of opportunity to youth on an enormous scale. It is estimated that in 1935 and 1936 there were about six million young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four who were neither in school nor at work. Denied entrance to occupations and admission to adult responsibilities, they have been forced to grow old in years without knowing those experiences which normally bring maturity. Public relief of the destitute, whether young or old, can be no substitute for work, necessary as it may be to meet the breakdown of the economy. The "dole" may serve to perpetuate outworn institutions and to ward off the attacks of hungry mobs, but it also tends to convert free men into slaves.

The tradition of violence and intolerance, a seventh liability, represents a direct repudiation of democratic procedure and mentality. In reviewing this tradition from colonial times down to the present, James Truslow Adams concludes that "we have one of the most sinister inheritances . . . from which any civilized nation could suffer."¹ The historical record is literally covered with accounts of mobs, lynching parties, vigilance committees, "friends of law and order," and extra-legal bodies of every description, defying constituted

¹ James Truslow Adams, "Our Lawless Heritage" in *Our Business Civilization* (New York, 1929), pp. 117-118.

authorities, taking the law into their own hands, and administering "justice" according to their own ideas and wishes. Nearly every racial or national minority, if markedly different in religion or color from the American stock, has felt the brutal hand of private hatred and vengeance—the Indians, the Negroes, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Mexicans, the Irish, the Italians, the Slavs, the Mormons, the Catholics, the Jews, and others. In this cruel and savage exercise of violence constitutional guarantees have been abrogated, printing plants and newspaper offices destroyed, homes, churches, and sections of towns and cities burned and pillaged, and men, women, and children beaten, tarred and feathered, shot, and lynched. This major concern here, however, is not with violence which has no political purpose or with conflicts over differences now dead and buried. Rather it is with that struggle between labor and capital during the past seventy-five years in which the great social issues of the present age are involved and in which may be discerned the seeds of a future conflict that may end in the complete destruction of democracy. Since the days of the revolt of the Pennsylvania miners against intolerable working and living conditions under the "Molly Maguires" in the late sixties and early seventies of the last century to the massacre by South Chicago police of ten striking workmen demonstrating peacefully before the plant of the Republic Steel Corporation on Memorial Day, 1937, this conflict has assumed ever wider proportions, alternating between periods of open warfare and periods of preparation for the next trial of strength.

A final liability is the "system of checks and balances" which characterizes American government. The federal Constitution which as interpreted by the judges of the Supreme Court determines the general framework of the American political structure is calculated to make the administration of the public welfare feeble, uncertain, and inefficient. By separating the

several branches of government and making them coordinate and independent, it renders unity of purpose and action on the part of the national authority practically impossible, except for brief and undefined periods. Some scholars have attributed this separation of powers to an error of observation by Montesquieu in his study of English political institutions in the eighteenth century. But whatever may be the responsibility of the great French jurist and philosopher, there is evident throughout the debates in the Constitutional Convention a fear of the people. An effort was consequently made to remove the federal government as far from popular control as possible and keep substantial power in the hands of the holders of large property. Although in the meantime the executive and legislative branches have been made more directly responsible to the many, the judiciary has maintained its independence, assumed unanticipated prerogatives, and greatly increased its authority. The net result is that the American people live today under a system of government that places an ever mounting strain on the democratic process and creates a condition favorable to the rise of dictatorship.

The above catalog of liabilities, incomplete as it is, would seem to remove all hope of utilizing the democratic tradition. The list is, indeed, long and formidable. As one passes in review the obstacles which time and circumstance have placed in the path of popular rule, the thought keeps recurring that the grand experiment with free institutions may be but a brief interruption in the long course of autocratic government which is the normal condition of human society. One wonders whether the undermining of democracy, in both its inner and its outer manifestations, in both its mentality and its social arrangements, has not already proceeded so far that the battle is lost before it is begun. One also wonders whether the American people may not have missed their opportunity

two generations ago when the aristocracy was relatively confined and feeble and the forces of democracy were strong and confident. Such gloomy forebodings may be proved correct; but thus to pre-judge the case would paralyze the will and insure defeat. It must not be forgotten that what a people may think of a social situation constitutes a part of that situation.

SOME ASSETS

The other side of the ledger is by no means barren of items. The American people possess certain powerful assets which should go far toward canceling the liabilities—greater assets assuredly than any other major nation in the contemporary world can marshal. Comparatively, it is as true today as in the time of Daniel Webster that “no combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment (of popular government) can ever be expected to occur.”¹ The faith in democracy, though dimmed by the social changes of a century, still has its roots in reality and has enormous resources at its disposal. The more important of these resources will be developed under the following ten heads: the liquidation of feudal institutions and mentality, the democratic heritage, the experimental temper of the people, the tradition of “good neighbourship,” the contemporary European spectacle, the weaknesses of the aristocracy, the natural and technical resources of the country, the security of the nation from external attack, the high political sense of the population, and the growing body of precise knowledge of man and human affairs.

From the standpoint of the utilization of democratic procedures in the solution of the difficult problems now facing the American people, the relative absence of feudal institutions

¹ Daniel Webster, *The Works* (Boston, 1857) (Tenth Edition), Vol. I, p. 77.

and mentality may prove to be an asset of very great, even of decisive, worth. In this respect the United States is to be distinguished from practically every country in the Old World and from most in the New. America was settled at the time of the disintegration of the medieval system and for the most part by immigrants from countries that had moved farthest on the road toward the modern order. "America was opened after the feudal mischief was spent," wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson in 1878, "and so the people made a good start. We began well. No inquisition here, no kings, no nobles, no dominant church. Here heresy has lost its terrors"¹ John Taylor of Caroline County, Virginia, commenting more than a century ago on the fact that in Europe the new "aristocracy of paper and patronage" had grown up by the side of the older "aristocracy of the sword," observed that the European nations "are subjected by both, so that their chains are doubly riveted"² Of particular significance from the standpoint of the conservation of democratic values are the high social mobility of the population, the relative classlessness of the American family, and the absence of a state church and a military caste. This whole subject, with special reference to the position of the army, was recently summarized by Charles A. Beard³

In America we have no legalized aristocracy, no hangover aristocracy, no legalized clergy, no military caste with its hereditary corps of officers, no quasi-hereditary bureaucracy enjoying a privileged position in the state, ready to serve any de facto government, however raised to power, not yet! The politics of our military system is remarkable. Every Congressman, as you know, can name two members from his district for West Point, and every Senator his

¹ Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The Fortune of the Republic," *Emerson's Complete Works*, Miscellanies (J. E. Cabot's edition) (Boston, 1878), Vol. XI, pp. 410-411.

² John Taylor, *An Inquiry into the Principles and Policy of the Government of the United States* (Fredericksburg, 1814), pp. 21-22.

³ Charles A. Beard, "Democracy and Education in the United States" in *Social Research* (September, 1937), pp. 394-395.

quota. Thus the potential cadets are scattered all over the country, so that under this beautiful system of spoils and patronage we are spared that great enemy of democracy, a hereditary military caste—through no efforts of our own but by favor of politics, democratic politics. Now these peculiar features of American life give evidence of a democratic practice that is not to be found in England or on the continent.

The second asset, the democratic heritage, is a corollary of the first. The American people have had long experience with democratic institutions and ideas. Habits, dispositions, and loyalties thus fashioned through generations and centuries are not easily cast aside even in moments of great national stress. The citizens of the United States, moreover, as already noted in another connection, are peculiarly the children of one of the truly great epochs in human history—the epoch that witnessed the birth of the modern spirit. The age which shaped them was the age that began with the Renaissance and the Reformation and produced the Enlightenment and the English and French revolutions, the age that nurtured the growth of science and the overthrow of authoritarianism in one field after another and repudiated the dogma of divinity of kings and institutions. It was the age that propagated throughout the world the great ethical conceptions of liberty, equality, and fraternity, that communicated to mankind the idea of progress and the indefinite perfectability of man and society. It saw the writing of the great documents of the American revolution, and aroused in ordinary men and women the hope and the conviction that they might be secure and free. The fact should be emphasized that America was discovered and settled, her institutions and outlook formed, during this period. More than any other nation the people of the United States are the product of all of those influences which marked the coming of the modern age. If this heritage of freedom is understood and used, it immediately assumes the rank of the

greatest asset of the American people during the present critical period.

Closely linked with the democratic heritage is the experimental temper of the American people. Having broken with the past originally by crossing the Atlantic and having broken with it again and again in the settlement and conquest of the continent, they tend to be impatient of the authority of tradition. Having passed with great rapidity through a succession of frontiers, having moved within a century from a simple agrarian order into a most advanced industrial society, having experienced in a few generations the transformation of most of the institutions of family and community, having changed their places of residence, modes of life, and social arrangements often and profoundly in the course of their relatively short history, they have acquired a mentality favorable to experiment and adventure. Although proposed changes in every field have commonly evoked the vocal and spiritual opposition of a minority, the opposition as a rule has been overwhelmed. In a word the American people do not fear change as have most of the peoples who have lived on the earth. Rather do they look upon change as an omen of good.

A fourth asset, to use the expression of John Bradbury, a British naturalist who visited the United States in the early eighteen-hundreds, is the tradition of "good neighbourship," of cooperative and group effort which generally characterized life on frontier and farm before the spread of the pecuniary economy. The economic individualism of this era, which the great majority of the American people practised for generations, was far less rugged and ruthless than many champions of the virtues of calculated selfishness would have the present generation believe. It was tempered in the family group by the spirit of cooperation and mutual helpfulness; it was tempered in the sphere of community relationships by a spirit of neighbourliness and simple human kindness. Isolated and

self-sufficient individuals, living by the principle of "each for himself, and the devil take the hindmost," could never have conquered and settled the North American continent. The curbing of egoistic impulses and the pooling of resources and energies were demanded on innumerable occasions. In an economy without money, without extensive division of labor, without a dependent class of slaves, serfs, or wage-earners, the voluntary exchange of services, paradoxically, was "compulsory." According to Tocqueville, cooperation was fostered by that very "equality of conditions" which produced the individualism of the many. This equality, "whilst it makes men feel their independence," he wrote, "shows them their own weakness. they are free, but exposed to a thousand accidents, and experience soon teaches them that, although they do not habitually require the assistance of others, a time almost always comes when they cannot do without it" ¹

The contemporary European spectacle, tragic as it is, should prove a fifth asset to the American people, if they have sufficient intelligence to learn from it. In those countries of the Old World where dictatorships are firmly in the saddle the entire scene can only be horrifying to all friends of democratic methods and values. These new autocracies, whether launched in the name of the few or the many, of nationalism or internationalism, of capitalism or socialism, have brought profound disillusionment to their well-wishers. Those who hoped that the cooperative commonwealth, the dream of the ages, was at last to be realized in Russia have been no less disappointed than those leaders of business who hoped and believed that Mussolini and Hitler would make the world safe for the rights of private property and free enterprise. The whole experience of revolutionary Europe seems to demonstrate the truth of the ancient maxim that means and ends

¹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York, 1898), Vol. II, pp. 213-214.

cannot be separated, that the choice of incompatible means will destroy the ends proclaimed, that the use of undemocratic methods to achieve a more complete democracy will in all probability lead straight to some form of autocracy. Undemocratic procedures form undemocratic attitudes and sentiments, which in turn lend support to the indefinite continuation of dictatorial practices. Neither communism nor fascism has set an example which American citizens, whether liberal or conservative, radical or reactionary, would choose to follow.

The weaknesses of the American aristocracy constitute a sixth asset. Contrary to an oft-stated opinion, this aristocracy is far less formidable than superficial appearances would indicate. It does, to be sure, hold title to most of the productive property of the country and thus has at its disposal the power that goes with economic resources. Yet, as Tocqueville predicted, it is one of the "most confined and least dangerous" ever to appear in history. In order to be strong and enduring an aristocracy, besides being able to wield overwhelming force when occasion requires, must enjoy two separate but closely related supports: it must have support in fact and support in theory, it must render to society a palpable and unequivocal service and it must rest upon solid and accepted moral foundations. An aristocracy cannot maintain its position indefinitely if it allows itself to be shorn of responsibilities or fails to discharge effectively the responsibilities attached to its position. The feudal lord gradually lost his holdings when he proved himself incapable of defending them and of giving security to his vassals. In a word, an aristocracy⁸ must perform according to expectations or perish. Also, it must be confident of its own worth and proud of its achievements. And this confidence and pride must be shared by society. By both of these tests, the practical and the moral, the aristocracy of contemporary America is incomparably more feeble than its predecessors in history.

The unsurpassed natural and technical resources of the country are another factor which should facilitate the conservation of democratic values. Throughout their history men have been severely limited, their rate of reproduction has even tended to outrun the means of subsistence, their life in almost all ages and places has been marked by unceasing toil and battle with the elements; their lot has been one of insecurity, privation, starvation, pestilence, and war. With an insufficiency of all things needful for living, the human struggle, whether inside or outside tribe or nation, has naturally been carried to its bitter extremity. The stakes for which men have fought have been life itself, the penalty of defeat, enslavement or death. The age now dawning, an age which has been in preparation since the making of the first colt and which has been approaching with incredible rapidity during the past century in America, alters the entire aspect of human existence. If the people of the United States but succeed in coordinating their efforts, devising appropriate social relationships, and bringing all the forces of technology into the service of the nation, the entire population could be assured economic security, comfort, leisure, and even luxury. Through the harnessing of natural energies and the creation of new materials according to desire, men are at last in a position to lift the age-old curse of harsh, stupefying, and unrelenting toil. Under such circumstances they would be mad if they should refuse to live cooperatively together and choose instead to continue the ancient feud over bread and the opportunity to bask in the sunlight. Here is the most powerful argument for the employment of the democratic method in the settlement of disputes—a method which has probably always been dependent on benign life conditions and the consequent moderation of human passion. It seems not unlikely that the spread and success of democracy in America have been made possible by the relative ease of making a living which has at-

tended the settlement and conquest of the continent from early colonial times. If this is so, then the miraculous advances of technology during recent generations should provide for free institutions a foundation even more solid and enduring than that furnished by the natural riches of a comparatively raw and uninhabited land

An eighth asset is the relative security of the nation from external attack. War and democracy are incompatible, the one destroys the other, temporarily or permanently. From the standpoint of maintaining peace the American people occupy an incontestably favored position among the nations of the world—large or small. In the first place, they are separated by two great oceans from the two major sources of aggression in Europe and Asia. While neither the Atlantic nor the Pacific is as wide as it once was, they are both sufficiently broad to protect the country from any sudden and unprovoked attack. In the second place, the United States has no powerful and warlike neighbors on either American continent capable of endangering its security. The three thousand miles of unfortified boundary line separating the United States from Canada may be taken as a symbol of the spirit of peace which reigns in North America. In the third place, the unrivaled industrial power of the nation, the foundation and source of military strength in the modern world, makes the American people all but impregnable to invasion and conquest. In practically every important field of industrial production the United States occupies first place among the nations, while in consumption of mechanical energy it approximately equals them all. In the fourth place, the great variety of soil, climate, flora, fauna, and minerals found within its borders gives to the country a measure of economic independence which is matched only by the Soviet Union and the British Empire. When all of these things are taken together, along with the spirit and energy of the people, it is apparent that at the pres-

ent juncture in history no single country and no probable combination of countries could expect to wage a successful war of aggression against the continental possessions of the United States. These things being so, the American people probably can avoid war if they so desire and if they are prepared to make the necessary sacrifices involving distant possessions and the interests of nationals abroad

Although certain of the nations of Europe doubtless equal or surpass the American people in the realm of intellectual and artistic achievement of the highest order, it seems probable that the cultural level and the political sense of the masses in the United States are unusually high. Here is a ninth asset of great value. For more than a hundred years the dominant aim of the educational agencies of the country has been the dissemination of knowledge among the people, even though standards of excellence may have been sacrificed in the process. While this practice has called forth much criticism from abroad and even from the intellectual classes at home and while it has not realized the fond hopes of its advocates and progenitors; while the opportunities have been extended quite unevenly to the various regions and population elements and while an honest and realistic program of civic and political education has never been attempted on a large scale, yet the work of the formal educational agencies combined with the experience of living under institutions which have been relatively free has given the rank and file of the citizens a large measure of political sense and understanding. The fact that they may not be as far advanced in their command of systematic social knowledge and theory as certain European peoples is to be attributed primarily to the ease of life in America and the absence of that impulsion to think which must come in large part from the environment. Given the need, and apparently the need is now being given, the American people can be counted upon to render a very satisfactory

account of themselves in the sphere of political discussion, thought, and action. The example set by their fathers in the first seventy-five years of the history of the Republic would seem to justify this conclusion. Let them once become clearly aware that there is something wrong in their democracy and they may be expected to strike their political tents.

A final asset of great potential worth would seem to be that vast body of precise knowledge of man and society which has been accumulating ever more rapidly during the past several centuries. The existence of this knowledge is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the contemporary world. The ancients, in spite of their very real accomplishments in the realms of social inquiry and thought, knew relatively little about man—his origin, his nature, his history, his life and institutions. The modern age has witnessed the application of the methods of science and the spirit of objective scholarship to almost every phase of the subject. While perhaps only a good beginning has been made, the results already achieved constitute one of the greatest glories of the human mind. The geologists and biologists have disclosed man's place in the natural order. The physiologists and psychologists have explored his physical and mental equipment. The archaeologists and anthropologists have pieced together the early stages of human development. The geographers have revealed the relationships between man and the earth. The historians have given a systematic account of the evolution of cultures and the succession of states and systems. The economists, political scientists, and sociologists have studied the customs and institutions, processes and structures of human society in all times and places. As a consequence man today knows incomparably more about himself than he ever did in the past.

It may be said also that the body of available knowledge concerning the American people and American society, while deficient at many points, is especially detailed and comprehen-

sive. The temper of the country, probably because of its democratic and practical outlook, has been particularly hospitable to the development of the social sciences. There are probably more teachers and investigators in such fields in the United States than in all other countries combined. And these specialists, together with their students, are pouring a constant stream of findings into the current of social life and thought. Also learned societies, commissions, and committees are engaged perpetually in prosecuting inquiry into the operation of American institutions. In addition, governmental agencies during the past generation have subjected to careful and relatively objective study one department of the economic and political life after another. At no time in their history have the American people been in so favorable a position to know themselves. If knowledge is truth and if truth can make men free, a faith that marks the modern spirit and lies at the heart of the entire democratic experiment, they presumably hold in their hands the "key of liberty."

This vast body of precise knowledge of human society in general and of American society in particular, however, is only a *potential* possession of the ordinary citizen. At present it reposes too largely in those books, monographs, and documents which gather dust on the shelves of the libraries, large and small, that literally dot the country. The task of making this knowledge functional, of converting potentiality into actuality, of equipping the American people to deal intelligently with the problems of the age is a central task of both education and democracy.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND ORGANIZED EDUCATION

American democracy and organized education are equally dependent on one another. While the defense and advance of

democracy cannot be completely compassed by education, since both social invention and organization of forces are also required, education is fundamental to the entire undertaking. Indeed, even the release of the inventive and organizing energies of the people depends at bottom on the work of education. Understanding of the present status of American democracy, awareness of the problems and hazards ahead, guidance from the lessons of past and present, achievement of a practical program of action, and utilization of the available resources of the heritage—all these must rest in the last analysis on a comprehensive and relevant program of education. Also, while the greater part of the education of any society is carried on outside the formal agencies, which are specially and exclusively established and conducted for the purpose, the work of the school, including all levels and branches, is central. If the American people are not able to direct this institution to the service of democracy, then clearly they can scarcely hope to save themselves from the further advance of undemocratic forces. Here is the decisive test of the vitality and strength of American democracy in the second quarter of the twentieth century.

American education, moreover, is inextricably involved in the fate of the democratic process. This is due in part to the broad truth that education, being intimately related to the structure and life of the society which it serves, is inevitably affected by every more or less profound change in that society. It is also due to the peculiarly intimate relationship which education has sustained historically to democracy in America. The former has been one of the most characteristic expressions of the latter. It is not too much to say that, on the one hand, the perpetuation of the democratic process is dependent in no inconsiderable measure on the spirit, program, and activities of the school, and that, on the other, education,

as it has been commonly conceived and conducted in the United States, could not survive the destruction of that process.

In the current battle for democracy American public education faces its supreme test. Largely a child of the liberal spirit with which the birth of popular government in the United States was closely associated, the public school has generally been looked upon as a substantial and effective bulwark of a society of free man. So it was regarded by the founders of the great state systems of education in the middle decades of the last century, and so it has been regarded by ordinary men and women from generation to generation. If the citizens of the Republic, nurtured preponderantly by the public school, should acquiesce, either knowingly or ignorantly, in the destruction of democracy, then the institution itself will seem to have failed. Perhaps this is placing upon organized education a larger burden than it is capable of bearing, but no less has been expected of it by the leaders of American democracy.

If the democratic process is abandoned, if the method of public discussion is replaced by violence, if the bill of rights is abrogated, if rule by popular consent gives way to rule by police power, if stark and ruthless dictatorship occupies the seats of government, then the conception of education which has generally prevailed in America—the conception of education as a progressive and enlightening force in society—would be utterly destroyed. While that conception has rarely been fully realized in practice, while it has always been opposed by vested interests and powers of obscurantism, while it has been honored as often in the breach as in the observance,¹ it has rarely been openly repudiated and remains today a vital element in the heritage of American education and democracy. Indissolubly linked with this conception are integrity of per-

¹ For a thorough documentation of this point see Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* (New York, 1936)

son, freedom of conscience, scientific method, the spirit of unfettered inquiry, and all those creative forces for whose release courageous men and women in many ages have faced the combined power of church and state armed with inquisition, dungeon, sword, and fagot. If organized education cherishes freedom for itself, its first task is the marshaling of its resources for the purpose of preserving and perfecting a condition of society in which this great liberating tradition may live and flourish. Let the reign of authority return and the school will become a handmaiden of autocratic power, a defender of privilege, a conserver of fixed doctrine, an instrument for sealing the eyes, stopping the ears, stilling the tongue, and darkening the mind of each generation.

Chapter VIII

THE CREATIVE SPIRIT "AMERICA'S EFFORT OF REASON AND ADVENTURE OF BEAUTY"¹



RECURRINGLY THE CREATIVE FIRE BLAZED

In no respect was the promise of American life richer than in the potential creative capacity of its leaders. Time after time in three centuries of conquest they had given evidence of it, and in every medium of expression. Certainly our story has shown how true this was in the preempting and settling of the virgin continent, witness our fathers' practical ingenuity when confronted by the staggering problems of the frontier, their success in military strategy and tactics, their mechanical inventiveness, their design and construction of power-machine factories and of efficient business enterprises, and their development of new types of community government. But the factors of their creative promise extended beyond these abilities of practical efficiency necessary and important though they were.

In all the arts of intellectual composition and esthetic design also the Americans revealed a fine capacity for creative expression, once a toe-hold of developed community life was established on the continent. How perfectly that fact was illustrated by the original and indigenous architecture and community planning of the entire Atlantic seaboard from New England to Georgia during the latter seventeenth and throughout much of the eighteenth century. The third and fourth

¹ This chapter was written by Harold Rugg

generations of colonial settlers builded well. Their Commons were accommodated subtly to the conditioning factors of landscape and climate. Their buildings were fashioned from the native materials and designed to fit their personal and community needs. It was all "as necessity not tradition demanded." The result was organic community design and architecture, appropriate to the natural setting and to the living needs of the people. Here was true creative expression—nothing imported . . . nothing copied . . . nothing superfluous . . . nothing for the sake of the prestige of classical tradition.

In other means of expression likewise they proved themselves. As for creative production in political thought and writing it is doubtful if history can reveal more brilliantly conceived and stated papers than those passionate defenses of property and civil liberties, those declarations of the rights of men, those designs for democratic government that came from the pens of Americans in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. As for original literary writing, at the very moment that Emerson himself was complaining that our arts were little more than imported copies from Europe, the creative potential of the Americans was being marvelously recorded by Whitman, Thoreau, Emerson and Poe—not to mention the lesser men of talent. The period of literary production just before the Civil War was well named The Golden Day.

These three examples could be multiplied several fold to establish the fact of the Americans' latent creative ability. Repeatedly in a hundred years our political leaders spoke as creative masters of statecraft. Recurringly lone workers in every medium of expression produced creative statements of the Americans and the new culture they were building. Often and powerfully enough did they speak to be convincing that the capacity for constructive design was in our people.

THE THWARTING OF THE CREATIVE SPIRIT

In the main, however, as we have shown in Chapter IV, the practice of creative expression was stunted, the creative worker endured a tragic ordeal throughout much of the building of America.¹ Although many psychological forces co-operated to hamper the organic expression of our people until our own times, three played the leading rôles. The first was the raucous exploiting climate that encompassed the moving frontier of preemption and settlement as it blazed its way across the continent. The lure of the comfort, the power, and the glory that accrued from winning first prizes in the building race was enough to side-track potential creative power into economic exploitation. And the din of construction—"bigger and better!"—drowned out the sensitive utterance of meditative men; indeed it made meditation well-nigh impossible. Not only did the competitive mood throttle the mediocre worker-artists and the persons of minor talent, it shunted many major producers into the blind alleys of monetary success. Thus the first psychological force that thwarted the creative potential of our fathers was the *laissez-faire* spirit of preemption and progress.

The second was the complete acceptance of classical culture with which cultivated people in the eastern cities taught their talented youth to follow the styles and standards of Britain and Europe. In every field of expression—in architecture, in letters, in the fine arts of expression generally—almost nobody builded, wrote, painted, or otherwise *stated American life* as it

¹ If the reader is unacquainted with the history of the psychology of the American mind he can find a fuller account in such secondary sources as (1) V. L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (three volumes), (2) L. Mumford, *Sticks and Stones* and *The Golden Day*, (3) L. H. Sullivan, *The Autobiography of an Idea*, (4) F. L. Wright, *Autobiography*, (5) M. Cowley, *After the Genteel Tradition*, (6) V. W. Brooks, *Letters and Leadership* and *America's Coming of Age*, (7) R. Bouine, *Untimely Papers*, (8) W. Frank, *Our America* and *Salvos*, (9) Harold Rugg, *Culture and Education in America* and *American Life and the School Curriculum*.

was really lived and in forms of original thought and feeling. Eclecticism and imitation were the order of the day. As was said in Chapter IV, for two centuries almost every major creative American—poet, novelist, painter, what-not—was satisfied to put down merely a prettified British-European version of his romantic dream-world of America. To creative men today this addiction to classical forms is almost incredible, but it was true.

STUDENTS ON EVERY FRONTIER OF THOUGHT GRIPPED BY
SUPERFICIAL AND FALLACIOUS IDEAS

The third psychological force that thwarted clear understanding and portraiture of life in America was the enslaving compression of false ideas. The body of the intelligentsia until our own day thought about the world about them with concepts that just were not true. The professional students of society—economists, political scientists, historians, sociologists—were prevented from laying bare the true characteristics of the changing social order by a false outlook on life. This was a curious fusion of animistic theology and mechanistic science. The result in the professors' attempt to interpret the world was an unwillingness, indeed an actual inability to study the living world scientifically and to dig down to the real hidden economic and psychological facts of the new industrial society. It is important for us to understand the manner in which the general climate of opinion, even in the university world, thwarted the sound study of Man and his changing society until well into the twentieth century.

"Uncritical Natural Law" . . . "Conjectural History"

Even in the best of the new universities—for example, in Hopkins in the '80's and in Chicago in the '90's—only the rare malcontent (a Peirce, a Veblen, a Boaz, a Thomas) was able

to lift himself above the current theological interpretation of the universe, and only the exceptional mutant could get below the surface to state life as it was actually lived in America. Brought up in such a climate of opinion all but a few of the scientists and artists in all media of expression were content to paint portraits of the superficies of life, and the academicians of this Gilded Age accepted a personal animistic interpretation of the world. As Thorstein Veblen said of the outlook that gripped the whole intellectual world as late as 1880, the central axiom of the "conjectural history" of the times was an "uncritical natural law . . . which coerces the course of events." The statements of natural law by the college professors of "natural" philosophy were marked by an obsession in "order," in predestined forms. The uniformities of nature were seen as "final causes," a divine harmony of interests . . . a natural or normal order, a teleological order arranged by a creator, an over-ruling providence, an unseen hand. This, as Veblen described what was going on around him in the universities, was "the received tradition." This was the pabulum taught to the young intellectuals of America throughout the nineteenth century.

The Dominance of the Ideas of Physical Science

Combined with this fearsome attitude of escape from the real facts of American life and of a naive acceptance of the conventional concepts of the competitive society was the enslaving grip of the central attitudes and ideas of the new world of physical science. As we have shown in Chapter III, throughout several centuries of spectacular production of new ideas, experiments and physical invention one key-note rings out *Physical Science!* It was the *physical* environment that was first examined with the new instruments of observation. It was relationships between the factors of earth, wind, rain, water, landscape, temperature, heights above sea level, and the like,

that were first investigated. Thus it was astronomy, physics, and chemistry that emerged as the first great sciences to help man think about his world. In the natural and human world physical geography and "psycho-physical" man were investigated. The result was that, while by the turn of the twentieth century a unique body of primary concepts had been established in the physical sciences, they hampered seriously the exploration of the traits of living things.

The Consequent Enslavement of Creative Minds

This is not to minimize the cumulative achievement of establishing the primary concepts in the physical sciences, when viewed in the perspective of several hundred years of creative activity, it is breath-taking. But the adimination it produces in us is a clear indication of its power to enslave the interests and habits of work of the entire inventive population. The widespread absorption in anatomistic and mechanical analysis and construction of persons of imaginative potential in all of the industrial nations created a climate of opinion from which students of human life could not escape. The whole régime was marked psychologically by an interest in the concept of mechanism. Organic as well as inorganic behavior was regarded as the action of an aggregation of specific parts and processes. Even in physiology, as J. B. S. Haldane put it, such processes as "secretion, absorption, growth, nervous excitation, muscular contraction, were treated formerly as if each were an isolable, physical, or chemical process, instead of being what it is, one side of a many-sided metabolic activity of which the different sides are indissolubly associated."

Mechanism-Dominated Philosophy, Psychology and Education

What I am saying is that the workers on every frontier of creative thought and expression were swayed by the prestige

of the outlook, mood and primary concepts of the physical sciences. This was particularly true of both the arm-chair philosophers of conduct from Descartes to Kant and the first laboratory psycho-physicists and psychologists as shown in their efforts to explore the nature, behavior and education of human beings. Captivated by the clarity and perfection of the quantitative elements in the scientific method, enamored of the increasing precision of measurement of physical science and inspired by the esthetic charm of the mathematics of probability they too gave their loyalty for three centuries to the popular god of mechanism.

Even the brilliant thinkers of the incredible seventeenth century could not escape the grip of the physical and additive concepts and attitudes. The great thinking mathematician Descartes, creative in the field of number, explained organic bodily movements on straight mechanical principles. John Locke, with all his insight into the conduct of the understanding, still held to the atomistic view that explained mind as an aggregation of units. Atomism and mechanical principles still domineered over the interpretations of Berkeley, Hume, and Kant. Even the first European schools of psycho-physics after 1815 charted the minutiae of response of the human organism on mechanistic principles. For us the chief result was that most of the leaders of American psychology after 1880 adopted the limited and hampering ideology of "mechanism."

Precisely that attitude came to dominate the development of education as a technology, during the past forty years. It was perhaps to be expected that much of the initial work would be based upon whatever data, methods of work, and assumptions were at hand and had the greatest prestige. Since the concepts and methods of the physical sciences were the most respected, those were taken over into education and with them were adopted the mechanistic theories and assumptions of the physical scientists. Every phase of educational investigation

since 1900 illustrates the point—the history of the movement, the problems which were selected for study, the techniques which were employed, and the interpretation of data. Most of the work has either stated or implied four outstanding assumptions

1. That human nature is mechanism and not organism, that human personality is, precisely the sum of all its traits
2. That "whatever exists, exists in some amount, and can be measured" that is, that we know a thing only as we can measure and describe it quantitatively
3. That human traits which are quantitative-qualitative fusions can be reduced to quantitative measures
4. That certain traits of an organism can be held constant, and changes which are produced in others can be measured by the use of the statistical method of correlation.

This is not an exhaustive list but it indicates the character of the point of view that the students of education took toward human nature—namely, that it was "mechanism" rather than "organism."

THE TRANSITION FROM MECHANISM TO ORGANISM

This climate of physical science and mechanics was gradually penetrated by thin wavy strands of feeling and idea of another stamp. As the application of Roger Bacon's concept of observation—"Look at the world! Experiment!"—was extended from the inorganic environment to the natural world, particularly after 1800, new concepts slowly intrigued the minds of men of imagination. First in the plant and animal world and then in the human realm understanding advanced, the unitary nature of all living things began to be perceived. Two conceptual names increasingly came to have meaning. The first, as we have seen in Chapter III, was "The Individual", the second was "The Organism". Only much later, after decades of study, was it found that the two names really stood

for the same concept. First hinted at when the most exact psycho-physics was taking form and acquiring prestige at the turn into the nineteenth century, it came into its own a century later in the early years of our own transition era when the "integration principle" had been documented by a half-century of research.

I am not implying that the term "organic" had not been used, even in the college and school curricula of the post-Civil War years. It had indeed. Chemistry was taught, for example, as both "inorganic" and "organic," but only to distinguish the elements of physical things from types and forms of living things. Thus in the biological sciences "organic" carried little of the true connotation of "organism" until endocrinologists, physiologists, psychologists of several different schools, and philosophers and artists independently established it. This happened increasingly in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. And in the dramatic movement creative Americans played a tremendous rôle.

TEN GROUPS OF CREATIVE AMERICANS

The building of a truly scientific and organic climate of opinion among students of ideas required a full century of struggle. Thousands of American workers contributed their materials in the form of investigations, measurements, experiments, critical and philosophical studies, works of science, works of art. Slowly they cumulated, at first ignored, then vigorously denied, but gradually accepted as the volume of their chorus of affirmation expanded. I list merely ten types of these independent workers as a reminder of the scope of their new critical study of the universe and of Man and his changing society

—The students of evolution documented the concept of "things *growing* from small beginnings "

- The laboratory physiologists explored the *general* behavior of animals and human beings.
- The philosophers in their libraries laid bare the *organic nature* of experience, the *generalizing* characteristics of thinking and of all progressive living as *growing*.
- The sociologists, anthropologists and social psychologists steadily built the concept of *the culture as the process of interaction of dynamic individuals*
- The regional geographers revealed the *interactive* impacts of physical and social environments and human modes of living upon one another
- The economists and political scientists documented the *unified interrelationships of economics, politics and social psychology*, revealing the role of business in government, government in business, and the predatory nature of economic life
- Students of animal learning explored behavior and the processes of learning—especially of *generalization* and the perception of *relationship*
- Laboratory psychologists extended this inquiry to the behavior of human beings
- Artist-teachers in laboratory schools, working with children, explored the education of such concepts as that of *growth, meaning as active response, integration, purpose, balance, self, integrated personality*
- The artists—poets, novelists, architects, painters, sculptors, men of the theatre, the dancers, musicians, craftsmen—all came to see man as artist, emphasizing the statement of life as *organic form, as integrity of expression, as self-cultivation*

The mere naming of these ten distinctive types of independent workers shows the vast range of the inquiry which finally definitely established the rôle of the concept of organism in social and individual living and remade our whole modern outlook. Taken together it constitutes a powerful creative resource with which our people can successfully meet The American Problem.

LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR THE ORGANIC
OUTLOOK ON LIFE

The new creative movement in America did not propagate itself by some mysterious process. It grew directly out of the slowly cumulating body of findings from the scientific study of living things. Naturally the older, more settled culture of Europe contributed many of the antecedent ideas. The foundation for an understanding of the organic view of individual and social life was being built in Europe by the scientific method of analyzing and describing the natural world even in the midst of the exciting developments in the physical sciences.

The trend toward both a scientific and an organic approach can be seen in the development of the separate intellectual disciplines. In the physical sciences—for example, in the building of an objective astronomy and celestial mechanics, from Copernicus's first measurements to Newton's synthesis—a new cosmic outlook was being built which steadily dealt a death blow to supernaturalism and to the providential theory of causation. Geology and paleontology then began the task of establishing a naturalistic account of the evolution of the earth. Steadily it pushed back the chronology of the universe, the earth itself, and the evolution of plant, animal and human life upon it. As a consequence today we can think in terms of millions of years of life for man and billions for the evolution of the earth itself.

*The New Natural Scientists—
The Concept of Growth*

With the publication of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* in the historic year of 1859, the hypothesis of evolution became more than the undocumented guessing of the eighteenth-century philosophers, including Darwin's own grandfather. It was a culmination of decades of documenting the

geological story of rocks, of analyzing and classifying animal and plant species and of cataloging social customs. Slowly out of the stormy decades of controversy that followed its publication an increasing body of students of the organic world and of economic and political society stood with the business entrepreneurs in embracing both the concepts of growth and of "the survival of the fittest."

It was essentially the concept of the growth of the living creature and its scientific investigation that oriented the new interpretation of individual and social living. Societies as well as individuals came to be understood as growing organism, and both could be studied scientifically. Here was the cue which, after 1870, started the physiologists, psychologists, the philosophers, social scientists, off on a search for the fundamental concepts underlying every aspect of the industrial-democratic culture. After 1900 it became the cue from which the educationists reconstructed their outlook and ideas concerning child development and the life and program of the school.

Thus, through the work of the evolutionary biologists who established the concept of organic continuity—the development of all living things—an adequate basis was being built for the first time for a genetic point of view. Increasingly it was perceived that nothing was fixed or final, all was changing. And thus it was that a scientific background was slowly being established for a theory of social change.

The Physiologists—

The Integration Principle

Almost coincidental with the appearance of *The Origin of Species* was reported in the medical press of Europe a series of discoveries concerning the general effect upon the whole animal or human organism of changes produced in the organs known as the endocrine glands. A half century before that time, be-

tween 1775 and 1800, physiologists had discovered the significance of the cell as the unit of structure of body tissue, had located the thyroid and the adrenal glands, had recognized that there were differences in nature and function between the duct glands and the ductless glands. But of the "generalizing" function of these they were unaware

Then, in the years that Bernard Shaw called "the infidel half-century," appeared one pioneer of physiology after another Berthold, Claude Bernard, Thomas Addison, Shiff and Brown-Sequard about 1850 . . . Pavlov (1902) . . . Sherrington (1906) . . . and the Americans—W B Cannon, Lashley and others since that time These men contributed scientific data to establish the great integrative principle, namely, that "the organism responds as a unitary whole" in every human act Steadily one bit of evidence after another documented the organic nature of the action of all living creatures and equally of the interaction of the organism and its environment. To cite a few conspicuous examples

- the diastic effect on the whole organism of the transplantation, removal in the reproductive, adrenal, thyroid, thymus or pituitary glands
- the resulting death, debilitation of the whole body, the exceptional increase or decrease in height, weight and similar changes in other traits caused by changes in the endocrine glands
- the rôle of the emotions of fear, anger and rage in the action of the digestive system, in the sugar content of blood and urine, and in the total general behavior of the individual
- the accumulation of evidence concerning the integrative action of the nervous system
- the evidence concerning the "mass-action" of the individual and the tendency of the organism to find a way to use its total energies to establish a balanced way of life.

So much, then, for a brief reference to the antecedents of the modern outlook by the researches of the biological sciences. I have cited but a few conspicuous high spots of the

three-quarters of a century of physiological investigation that has established the organic interpretation of the living creature. While the first half century of it was essentially the work of Europeans the American contribution has been very great, especially since 1890. Today, then, the pronouncements of our universities and medical institutes are colored by a scientific and organic rather than by a theological and mechanistic interpretation of human life and behavior.

CREATIVE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND ARTISTS BEGIN TO
BUILD AN ORGANIC VIEW OF LIFE IN AMERICA

It was in the 1870's and 1880's that a few independent-minded Americans in various fields of expression began to find and use their powers of original thought and feeling and of creative statement. In each of the great fields a few lone mutants broke through the crust of "the received tradition," turned their backs on conjectural history, and grasping the simple but tremendous idea of stating life as they saw it lived in America dug through the surface of the culture to its economic and psychological roots. Out of it all came a new statement of American life and a clear revelation of its giant potential.

I can do little more than hint at the tremendous thing that happened by naming a few of the great minds that painted the new portrait of the American and his America. For clarity as well as economy of space I shall divide these people into two groups: first, the scientists who "stated" a new organic interpretation of the social order, second, the artists who "stated" the individual American living in that social order. Grippled by the domineering theological, mechanistic ideas and by the prestige of classical concepts and forms, these pioneers of science and art carried on an heroic struggle. That they succeeded so remarkably marks the epoch initiated by

our times as one of the most creative in all history; certainly it has already become the most articulate era. Thus, it establishes beyond question the promise of a truly creative solution of The American Problem in the coming decades

THE NEW SCIENTIFIC STUDENTS OF SOCIETY REVEAL
THE CHARACTERISTICS OF OUR SOCIAL ORDER

In the period between 1880 and the World War a new sociology and a new psychology were born. Their chief Founding Fathers were two great free-lance thinkers—perhaps the most profound minds that America has yet produced—Charles Peirce—engineer, mathematician and logician—the founder of the current operational psychology and the primitive form of the philosophy known variously as “pragmatism” or “experimentalism”, and Thorstein Veblen, America’s first social psychologist. In a sense sociology and psychology became one under these innovators, for the sociology was primarily psychological and the new psychology became increasingly social. As we look back upon their work we can see how inescapable that trend was. Peirce and Veblen were both encyclopedic minds embracing fields of study of enormous scope; they grew up in the midst of the new scientific climate; they associated with the world’s leading students of the newer psychology—Peirce with William James and his associates, Veblen with John Dewey, W. I. Thomas, William Caldwell, Franz Boaz, and others at Chicago.

*The Philosophers—The Unity and
Continuity of Human Experience*

While the new biologists, then, were discovering the concept of growth and the physiologists the integrative principle, the philosophers in their libraries were stating more fundamentally than ever before the dynamic and unitary nature

of human experience Under the leadership of Peirce, his younger friend William James—artist, physiologist, psychologist and philosopher—and John Dewey—devotee of the scientific method applied to the process of thinking—a vast and interpretative library was written Sixty years of such rigorous documentation can be summed up in certain fundamental concepts for the stating of which John Dewey deserves the chief credit.

- human experience is unified and continuous,
- there are no separate traits, ends and means, character and conduct, motive and act, will and deed—all are continuous,
- hence all dualistic interpretations of experience are fallacious, meaning is conceived of as responses, and experience is the integration of these,
- there are no separated instincts, instead an indefinite number of original or instinctive activities . . . are organized into interests and dispositions according to the situations to which they respond
- will is thus not something opposed to consequences or severed from them It is a *cause* of consequences
- knowledge is not to be separated from action as has been done in the constant dualism of 2000 years of philosophic discussion.

Thus the philosophers confirmed the physiologists and the students of growth by documenting the concept of the unity of individual and group experience.

Thorstein Veblen and the Sociologists

Meanwhile Thorstein Veblen (1857–1929) was laying a subtle foundation for the scientific and organic point of view in the social sciences Born of Norwegian land-owning farmers who had been dispossessed of their lands time after time in several generations, America's first social analyst was brought up in a milieu of rebellion. It was a mood of revolt against (1) the theological dogmatism and superior attitudes of the transplanted New England Calvinists who lived in the towns nearby, (2) the exploitation of the farmers by these

very Calvinist lawyers, bankers, and other finance-promoters. Thus from his young manhood the essential conflict between the agrarian producers and the predatory urban exploiters stood out in Veblen's mind. Even by his college days he had turned his back on the personal animistic point of view of classical economics and adopted as his intellectual instrument the concepts of the Darwinian, genetic, evolutionary point of view of modern science. Building an encyclopedic knowledge from the vast scope of his studies, he laid bare ideas and inter-relationships that had been largely obscured up to that time. To establish the organic form of the culture, he fused into an all-embracing method the Darwinian concept of growth from biology, the action concept from psychology, and the concept of the development of human institutions from anthropology. He was artist as well as scientist, seeing sociology as social psychology, the study of milieus and climates of opinion. It is not too much to say, then, that Veblen was the first major American student to subject social institutions to scientific study.

Out of his life-time of pioneer analysis was documented the real traits of the new industrial society which the classical economists and sociologists had either refused to confront or had been unable to perceive. To sum up the chief concepts in his theory really amounts to stating what is fairly generally held today to be the characteristics of industrial-pecuniary society. I note them succinctly from Veblen's own summary. Our economic-social way of life, he says, is

- a competitive system of pecuniary rivalry,
- a price system based on unstable units of money and price,
- a way of life dominated by standardized mechanical industries, in which consumption is standardized also and in terms of price,
- a privately owned large scale system of corporation-factory production,
- based on the technical knowledge and skill of millions of produc-

- ing workers who are definitely controlled by a few corporate owners,
- a social order at the mercy of a small group of absentee owners, whose interests are at variance with the general social improvement of the producers,
- a predatory system in which the productive plant must be restricted, withheld from use, in general strangled and hence can not deliver to the technical workers enough purchasing power to keep the system running,
- finally, a social order in which these predatory practices debauch the creative instinct for workmanship in the worker, and a general decay of the productive arts is highly probable

The Other New Social Scientists

Meanwhile the archaeologists, ethnologists, and anthropologists were pushing back the threshold of history and building a sounder knowledge of cultural evolution of man. Here again the focus of inquiry was *the whole culture*. Patterns and laws of institutional life emerged more clearly as obscure ancient civilizations were uncovered. The building of the science of physical anthropology increasingly disposed of such nonsense magic as the "Nordic Myth" that was being distributed by Count Gobineau, Chamberlain and the other scare-mongers of racial differences and superiorities.

In a similar manner the development of a scientific psychology in the nineteenth century disposed of the supernatural as well as the mechanical foundation of attitudes, motives, and acts. It was seen that notable shifts in cultures altered drastically the responses of the human individual and the outlook and values of social groups and that this accounts for the differences between the responses of modern man and those of his Stone Age ancestors. As sociologists emerged with their attack on institutions, mores, and customs, it was seen that psychology was becoming social. Slowly the importance of the concept of the interaction of the individual and the culture—

that ideas and attitudes are socially determined—was established.

Under the leadership of F. J. Turner, J. H. Robinson, J. H. Breasted, C. A. Beard, E. Huntington, E. Semple, I. Bowman and others—the new historians, economists, political scientists, and human geographers documented a vast body of concepts, for example

- the unitary character of the culture,
- the inter-connections between economics and government,¹
- the economic and psychological motives underlying exploitation and colonization of continents,
- the history of government as the history of the struggle over ownership of property,
- the Civil War as the second American Revolution,
- the economic-psychological factors in the organization of workers and farmers and in their revolt against the urban business control of government,
- the complex of factors which produced the World War,
- the analysis of a hundred years of depressions,
- the causal factors underlying great human migrations, particularly in the building of twenty-five new countries,
- the rôle of scientific ideas and economic invention in the building of the new industrial-democratic culture,
- the rôle of absentee ownership and control of the economic system;
- the analysis of population changes in relation to economic-social change,
- the general pattern of social development as generated by the struggles of groups and classes,
- the emerging conception of a unitary world-wide culture based upon the interdependence of peoples

These, then, are conspicuous examples of the creative Americans who, during the past eight decades, have produced a new scientific and organic interpretation of the social order. Brief though our reference to them has been, enough has been

¹ As in Charles Beard's *Economic Determination of the Constitution of the United States*.

said to introduce the general educator to the new study of Man and his changing society and to give him clues for making the social basis of the life and program of the school.

THE PARALLEL EMERGENCE OF CREATIVE ARTISTS

While the new scientific students of the social order were becoming articulate a few rare artists succeeded in producing examples of creative, indigenous art. Whereas the scientific students were "stating" the society, the artists were "stating" the individual American who was living in it and was rebuilding it. With every medium of expression they began to paint honest creative portraits of life in the New America. Creative indeed—for each one was struggling to make his product an adequate measure of himself and of his culture.

FROM WHITMAN TO THE CURRENT REVOLT AGAINST THE GENTEEL TRADITION

Walt Whitman, as long ago as 1871, had pleaded for "a class . . . of native authors . . . permeating the whole mass of American mentality, taste, belief, breathing into it a new breath of life."

As he put it, a free creative society—democracy on the grand scale—can emerge only in the fruition of a proud and self-conscious individualism. This conception of society as a multitude of proud and cooperating selves is not in any way to be confused with the "rugged-individualism" of the Big Robber Barons and their little exploiting satellites. The essence of society, distilled out of the new democratic melting pot, was to be the full-bodied and full-minded selves. Whitman put it in the opening lines of "Leaves of Grass"

One's self I sing, a single separate person,
Yet utter the word Democratic.

But so full was the understanding of the organic thing in this great artist that the concept of a single leaf of grass was comprehensive enough to embrace the whole organic world, including human society. Thus the individuals interlock to form the whole society—"a vast similitude interlocks all." The great aggregate nation would be achieved through "the forming of myriads of fully developed and inclosing individuals."

And in no American poem can a better statement of the uniqueness of the self be found than in the first and last lines of his famous poem

I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear

Each singing what belongs to him or to her and to none else.

Thus Walt Whitman, almost alone from 1850 to 1890, withstood the lure of the classic mode and of imitation of European letters. For forty years he declaimed in successive editions of "Leaves of Grass" that the poet makes the state while the politicians exploit it with their intrigue and compacts and false regulations. Although in the 1880's and 1890's a few great mutants did succeed in lifting themselves above the dead level of sheer exploitation, academic classicism and imitative eclecticism, for forty years after Whitman's plea the great class of native authors was not born. In the false régime of the earlier period the merchant of art, architecture, and letters had ousted the creative artist—the poet and the playwright, the architect and the painter had to conform to the low esthetic standards of a thoroughly exploitive society.

But at last the period of expansion (1860-1900) passed, and the country whirled on into the Great Transition—our own times. At the turn of the century quite suddenly a thrilling band of creative artists—poets, novelists, architects, paint-

eis, sculptors, men of the theater, dancers, musicians, craftsmen—was born

In each of the arts one or more truly creative artists emerged near the close of the Machine Age. There was Louis Sullivan himself, the first American architect, Isadora Duncan, the first modern dancer of the Western World, and Alfred Stieglitz, internationally renowned photographer. There were O'Neill, Jones, Simonson, and others in the new theater, Waldo Frank, Brooks, Frost, Sandburg, Masters, Lindsay, word-recorders of the American thing, Homer, Henri, Marin, O'Keeffe, Bellows, graphic and plastic artists. And there were others—industrial designers, community planners, musicians, what-not. These and their company were important—some, I am convinced, were great—because each in his respective medium forsook the stereotyped modes of imported European classic patterns and created an honest portrait of the American becoming conscious of his America. Each one shook off the circumscribing bonds of traditional art forms and created novel ones which were appropriate to his own images and ideas, true expressions of his own personal interpretations, and—to varying extents—conscious portraits of their America. I know no concept of living that is more subtle than that one, or more difficult to achieve in a society in which competition and imitation are the standard ways of life.

To make dramatically clear how that was done would require little less than a series of biographies of the artists themselves. Here I can merely point out the chief characteristics of the achievements of some of the greatest among them. First, a word about architecture, for in that America has led the world to new organic forms. In this no single person has exerted such an influence as Louis Henry Sullivan (1856-1924).

LOUIS SULLIVAN GAVE THE WESTERN WORLD
EXAMPLES OF ORGANIC ARCHITECTURE

An American building, to be organic, must express the mood and rhythm, the true nature of the culture, as well as be definitely appropriate to the life that is to be lived in it. It must be American—indigenous and truly creative. But that can be achieved only by the architect's understanding the individuals who are to live in it and the culture of which they are a part. The building, then, must be the architect's objectification of his grasp of the life to be lived in it.

To state the principle is not a difficult task; to consummate it in a structure was a magnificent achievement for a lone architect fighting the feudal commercialism of our America of the '80's and '90's. Louis Sullivan—technologist and artist—achieved it in more than a hundred buildings. As technically competent engineer he was a disciplined student of the strength of materials, of the principles of mechanics and structural design, as sensitive artist Sullivan saw what the mere builders of his time could not see—namely, that if a structure is to be more than mere shelter, that is, to be true architecture, it must have more than proper principles of engineering design. It must be a work of art as well as of engineering. Any nomad people could get along with "shelter," and a transitional civilization could do with "habitation", but a potentially great culture—like that which Sullivan dreamed America to be—could become kinetically great only by turning shelter and habitation into true "architecture."

As artist, then, Sullivan knew that the form of a building, the selection of materials for it, the setting in which it was built, the decoration employed,—every aspect of it,—must be appropriate to the life to be lived in it. He taught a great school of young architects, Frank Lloyd Wright in the vanguard, to feel, to see, to understand how America—indeed

how each modern nation—was in our generation to achieve true architecture. He did that by illustrating it in his hundred buildings as well as by writing it in his books.¹

So much for a mere hint of the revelation of the creative artist in America that came from the work of Louis Sullivan.

ISADORA DUNCAN—FIRST MODERN DANCER ²

In the building of the modern dance Isadora Duncan served America and the world in a similar creative fashion. So far as I can see, she was utterly alone, practically without real antecedents, in Europe as well as in America. Paraphrasing Walt Whitman's words, "I Hear America Singing," Isadora imagined "the mighty song that Walt heard, from the surge of the Pacific, over the plains, the Voices rising of the vast Choral of children, youths, men and women singing Democracy." As she said in her essay "I See America Dancing," she had a "vision of America dancing a dance that would be a worthy expression of America of the song Walt heard when he heard America singing."

So Isadora saw that multitudes of conscious Americans must be awakened to the creative task of inventing forms, designs, which were appropriate personal interpretations of living *in* America. Like Sullivan she clothed her vision *in* dances which broke completely with the standard imported patterns, and to the best of the ability of a creative pioneer portrayed her feeling for herself and her culture. In the past fifteen years her vision and her example have been consummated in the work of a score of young creative American dancers—Martha Graham, Hanya Holm, Doris Humphrey, Charles Weidman, Tamiris, to name only a few of the most talented ones

¹ See especially his remarkable *Autobiography of An Idea*.

² Various paragraphs of the following pages are adapted from my *American Life and the School Curriculum* and from *Culture and Education in America*.

CREATIVE PIONEERS IN THE OTHER ARTS

While the two great mutants, Sullivan and Duncan were enduring the ordeal of first achieving original expression in the two great primary arts, in each of the other fields of expression, a small company of comprehending persons was going through similar torture. They too were trying to resist the conventional patterns which society understood and expected of its artists, and to put down what they really saw and felt of their American life.

In letters there was the largest company of all, so many isolated figures, indeed, that every phase of the writing craft could boast of a few. Vachel Lindsay was beginning to hymn the American Methodist culture to the accompanying time-beat of the Illinois prairies. In Chicago, Carl Sandburg was recording the rhythm of urban industrialism and the pulsation of human life on city blocks. Edgar Lee Masters, in the same Middle West, was groping his way through the drab exterior of the American small town to lay bare an even more drab interior life in his first *Spoon River*. Sherwood Anderson was writing *Poor White* and *Windy McPherson's Son*, and Theodore Dreiser *Sister Carrie* and *Jennie Gerhardt*. Edwin Arlington Robinson, Robert Frost, Amy Lowell, Sarah Cleghorn, and others were painting honest portraits of the declining New England Puritan culture. Lew Sarett and Mary Austin were striving to catch the inner meaning of the cultural life of the American Indian. By 1912 so many creative writing people had found their way to actual original expression that Harriet Monroe could successfully found her magazine *Poetry*.

Four years later Waldo Frank and James Oppenheim, with the aid of an amazing group of associates—Van Wyck Brooks, Randolph Bourne, Louis Untermeyer, Robert Edmond Jones, Kahlil Gibran, Robert Frost, Edna Kenton, and

David Mannes—founded the *Seven Arts*. First and foremost it was an organ of social criticism, the first one of our Great Transition which was truly independent and free of academic traditions. Its editors, especially Frank, Brooks, and Bourne, were indeed a remarkable group of creative, imaginative painters of American life. These clear and honest students laid bare the vicious commercialism of the arts, they showed how impossible it is for great art to thrive in a profiteering, racketeering climate, they exposed the widespread mode of imitation of European and classic forms in letters, the stage, music and the dance, architecture, and the graphic and plastic arts, they laid the foundations for an original critique of the current pragmatic philosophy of James and Dewey, they revealed the disappearing loyalties of modern peoples, pointing out that ours was a society of lost individuals, they stated the concepts of a new philosophy which could be built directly out of the data of American life, showed the necessity of seeing life whole, and antedated the current educational interpretation of integration.


For seventeen months this pure organ of creative art published the songs of the new poets Lowell, Frost, Sandburg, Lindsay, Kreyenboig, Deutsch, Bodenheimer, and Widemer State papers for an original American theater written by O'Neill, Jones, Simonson, Macgowan and Company appeared in its pages Marsden Hartley, one of the few painters who were vocal, contributed essays John Dewey sent his philosophical articles to accompany the writers of the Europeans—Bertrand Russell and Romain Rolland—and of the young American social critics—Brooks, Bourne, and Frank.

In the meantime creative centers in the graphic and plastic arts had sprung up at various nature-favored places—Woodstock (New York), Provincetown and Nantucket (Massachusetts)—and in the studios and galleries of New York (especially in such a vitalizing center as Alfred Stieglitz's

"An American Place"), Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and other metropolises.

These original people, then, were typical of Branford's "great renovators of vision," who, at the threshold of the Great Transition, created new American materials for a fine art of living. By 1910 they had begun to produce indigenous examples of art on every frontier of thought and emotion. For a quarter-century that stream of creative production augmented, and today a considerable body of Americans are becoming conscious both of the cultural need and of the avenue by which it can be satisfied.

We can be confident, therefore, that, as America advances through her critical transition period, she does not lack for sensitive artists. With every medium of expression they are becoming articulate. Our times constitute not only a period of critical *need* for art, but also one in which the artist-leader is already beginning to communicate his outlook and his ideas to a somewhat larger sector of the population.



Chapter IX

THE CURRENT EDUCATIONAL AWAKENING ¹



Public education has always been a major concern of the American people. From the simple reading and writing schools of the earliest days to the most complex educational organizations of today lies a long story of enduring faith in and continuous support of educational institutions. But this abiding faith has been maintained under the belief that the schools furnished the cornerstone, the safeguard, the bulwark for the maintenance of American democracy.

It was by a kind of accident, therefore, that the schools failed to serve their purpose—that they became delinquent in performing their functions. This accident was the inability of the interpreters of the American conceptions of education to implement it under the actual developing social conditions. When the fathers first wrote the school was already a going concern. Its social orientation and its practices were already established, and these looked backward to caste and monarchy. The founders of the American Republic did not fully realize these facts, accordingly they were unable promptly and effectively to modify the existing practices of the school and add to its services in the light of the new social conceptions.

From the very beginning, then, the school was not justifying the faith of the American people that it was a bulwark of democracy.² For years it seriously lagged behind the real,

¹ This chapter was written by L. Thomas Hopkins.

² Charles A. Beard, *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy* (Educational Policies Commission, N.E.A., Washington, D. C., 1937).

though often unrecognized demands. As time passed great social changes, such as the increasing population, the conquest and elimination of the frontier, the new technological processes, the increased production of basic goods and materials, and now finally, unemployment—these put such a load upon the school that the gap between its practices and the vision of the founding fathers as to its functions was increased. In fact, these changes tended increasingly to isolate the school from participation in the surrounding cultural and group life. But now a new day seems at hand. As the making of the American graded school system in the time of Horace Mann was often called “the great awakening,” so in the present time do we see signs of still another awakening that promises to bring the school abreast of current needs and make it the long looked for effective agency of democracy. Under modern stimulus the school is reexamining its functions and reshaping its purposes in the light of the new social conditions the better to meet the needs of the emerging new democracy. To make clearer the direction and extent of this new movement is the purpose in this chapter.

SOCIALIZED CREATIVE INDIVIDUALITY A BASIS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

The foundation theory of American democracy is faith in the potentialities of the individual man. Our people have always had a profound belief in the worth of each individual as being possessed of capacity to grow, develop, and learn. There has always been a strong determination that the possibilities of each individual should be unhampered in their development. The hope that this faith, the American dream, might be realized has unfortunately been greatly shaken in recent years by the problems of unemployment, overproduction, underconsumption, social stratification, and wars. There

has come a growing skepticism that America is the land of individual opportunity. But in spite of all these things the American people still have an abiding faith in democracy, in the worth of every individual as a human being, and they are still determined that the schools shall answer to this faith.

When American independence was achieved, this belief in the worth of the individual was in political and economic life being interpreted, we now see, too much as mere individualism, not as effectual respect for individuality. Each individual was supposed to reach the best development of his potentialities when he had perfect freedom of choice to carry on all of the activities of his own life in virtual disregard of others. Adam Smith and the other writers on *laissez-faire* helped spread the idea that if each man looks after nothing but his own interest the result will be the best for the common good of all.¹ The perfect freedom which this eighteenth-century individualism assumed served reasonably well under the early frontier conditions of this country, but not so under the growth of modern industry. For example, in the choice of an occupation the individual no longer has effective free choice due to many factors, an important one being the control of many occupations by small social groups.

This conception of individualism, each man for himself alone, dominated the schools to the hurt of the youth concerned. In the earliest days schools were not generally free. A meager elementary-school education could be obtained free of charge in a few states, but not in most. Until after 1860 secondary schools usually charged tuition, thereby restricting membership to certain social groups. Even after schools were freed of tuition charges, rigid elimination and selection went on to drive from the schools the majority who were unable either financially to give time to schooling or did not fit the formal scholastic teaching then in vogue. Only in the past

¹ Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (First Edition, London, 1776).

decade has this "rugged individualism" within the school been seriously modified, and not even yet has the curriculum been well adjusted to actual pupil needs.

But all the time that individualism was running rampant there were those who understood better the essential solidarity of the group. In fact, the great democratic leaders saw differently from the first.

The early leaders did not subscribe to the economic theory that the pursuit of private gain would automatically bring about the establishment of independence, the creation of a constitution, or the security and prosperity of the American nation. In fact, during the Revolution they had seen gambling in goods and securities almost wreck their cause. After victory had been won they saw emphasis on personal and sectional interests threaten the Union with dissolution. They knew from bitter experience that devotion to the public good and self-denial in private matters were necessary to the achievement of great social ends. Having risked their all in the creation of a nation, the ablest among them gave unremitting attention to the study of public affairs and methods calculated to preserve and improve the independent society which their labors had brought forth.¹

These early leaders saw need for social individuality in which every individual should respect the rights of every other person, in which each individual would be ready and willing to submerge himself for the common good, and in which the common good, in turn, would make possible a higher type of individuality for everyone than was possible under the prevailing conception of each man simply for himself. The rapidly changing industrial conditions both in America and in the world have demanded and brought increased acceptance of the interpretation of individuality made by the most far-seeing among founders of the American Republic.

But this individuality has another meaning which is also inherent in the American tradition. It is that of personal

¹ Beard, *op. cit.*

creativity. In frontier days the respect of one's fellow men went to the individual who was capable of carving out of the wilderness a new farm or a new plantation. With few trails to guide him, with the ties to past traditional life only loosely held, with the problems of life to be met if it were to be effectively sustained, each individual, to a greater or less degree, by sheer force of his own efforts, had to devise the most effective ways of dealing with his problems in the process of their solution. This inventiveness in dealing with unforeseen conditions of living, this ability to manage intelligently the novel problems of life on the spot, day by day, was built solidly into American character.

Finally, there was the conception that in the long run the fate of American democracy had to be entrusted to the wisdom and knowledge of a widening mass of American people. At the first not all accepted this universal suffrage, but step by step the right to share in governing has been granted to all. This means extending the availability of the results of intelligent solutions to problems of human living to all individuals and keeping free and open the possibilities for each individual to improve in his intellectual outlook. In this way additions can be made to the accumulating social heritage and utilized for the upbuilding of intelligence for everyone.

THE SCHOOL'S RESPONSIBILITIES IN MEETING THE REAL DEMANDS OF DEMOCRACY

This concern of democracy for developing socially creative individuals disposed to meet their problems with increasingly intelligent action places upon the school three major responsibilities (1) It should aid each individual to mature his potentialities to the highest degree (2) It should help each individual to build himself more and more deeply into an ever-widening area of the cultural and group life. (3) It should

help each individual understand by actual living the process through which and for which democracy is maintained. How already the new school developments are moving to meet these will be briefly discussed

Maturity for an individual is a complex of many things. Physically he must develop the body so that all organs are firmly established and functioning in a mature state. Emotionally he must be able to meet his problems of living without such internal tension as destroys his ability to act intelligently. Socially he must meet successfully his varied problems of human relationships. Moreover, in a rapidly changing society he must acquire a working set of meanings to guide him in the developing stream of life. And finally, he must gradually bring into working control a set of attitudes and feelings which are conditioners of his total behavior.

For any individual growth is a two-way process, and the newer school procedures are built exactly on this faith. The growth of the individual represents the correlative control and management of both internal and external conditions. These two sets of conditions represent the total situation which the individual faces. Everyone growing up in any culture must deal with them effectively. Consequently, in order that the individual may reach the limits of his stature which the democratic tradition demands, he must so increase his knowledge of the social culture as to bring into play ever new aspects of the external conditions. He must work these over in relation to the internal conditions, and so form a new type of behavior that in turn brings the individual into new sets of circumstances which, in turn, carry on the continuously developing process. This contact with the culture represents more than the mere cognitive acknowledgment of the external conditions or the conscious awareness of their existence. It means the actual building of these conditions into himself, both meaningfully and volitionally, for only then can they

be utilized fully to mature his potentialities. This means that he must constantly move and act in wider and wider relationships in the culture, must examine critically all aspects of it, must formulate means and methods for improving it, and must put those into appropriate action. For only in this way can he become the socialized creative individuality which the democratic concept contemplates.

The school that is now coming into being builds itself on these principles. The socialized creative individual must understand and use continually these processes through which his individuality is achieved. The new school provides these possibilities. This *interactive process* means a reshaping of the internal and external conditions to the end that each is made over into something new. It is a process of deliberative action in which each individual contributes to the best of his ability and shares the best from all others. The new school seeks social opportunities for doing these things. Merit of contribution of the pupils' work is judged not by class or social prestige but by the utility of the proposal for evolving a fruitful control over the conditions under consideration. Recognition of the merit of this technique has always been in the American tradition and is probably now being put into school practice today better than at any other time in the history of our civilization.

HOW THE SCHOOL IS MODIFYING ITS PROGRAM

To meet these needs of American democracy the school has already begun to modify seriously the program hitherto common and instead to introduce more fruitful procedures. To discuss all the changes and instances of their application now being developed would require space beyond the scope of this chapter. Only a few of the most strategic changes now already beginning to be made can, therefore, be considered.

1 The school has begun to accept as its primary function to aid boys and girls—or men and women—to improve their daily living. Not all schools are now so acting, but enough to show the trend. The problems of life and living are constituting the content of the new school day and the new school endeavor. How to meet these problems intelligently under our democratic way of living really means learning in and through the process of living itself. And this is the new outlook observable in the best schools.¹ Whatever is best in process of living and how best to attain it at each year level—these things become the objects of inquiry and of study by teachers and children. Both internal and external conditions of every situation are subject to careful examination. The curriculum of such a school is recognized as composed of all of the activities or aspects of living of all learners which are directly influenced by the school. Mrs. Lillian L. Rashkis, Principal of Public School No. 37, New York City, for example, includes in the curriculum the living of all of the pupils for twenty-four hours a day, seven days in the week, by helping them organize better their living in the home, at the clubs, at church, on the playgrounds, and at work. And, furthermore, the school includes all individuals who are in any way within the scope of its influence. This means that the curriculum of the school is concerned just as truly with the improvement of the living of teachers, administrators, parents, taxpayers, and others as with the children. So far this wider conception is rather an aim than a fact, but even so actual trends in that direction are observable. The new school program² should therefore consider all individuals at all ages.

¹ Miss Helen Burr Durfee of the McKinley School, Pasadena, shows in the book, *Safe Living* (Sanborn, 1937) how she utilized these problems of living of the children in their school, home, and community relationships.

² For a detailed example see Burnett and Hopkins, editors, *Enriched Community Living* (Delaware State Department of Education, Division of Adult Education, Wilmington, 1936).

levels from infancy to old age. Only in this way can the school keep the external conditions from dominating the situation, thereby preventing the normal process of interaction from taking place.

2. The school is now consciously aiding each individual to come to believe in the worth of creative human individuality and to develop a willingness to strive toward producing conditions that promote and sustain creative experience for all others. This means the right of every individual intelligently to differ with, and differentiate himself from other individuals, to build a self marked not only by the common stamp of the level of the average, but by the originality and uniqueness which only a differentiated personality can attain. The rich and varied life experiences and the extensive use of many mediums for the expression of meanings and feelings now coming into use offer children an opportunity to explore all experiences creatively and to develop individual talents in such areas and with such media as the individual abilities or aptitudes may indicate.

And the newer and better schools are already showing their more adequate respect for individuality. Under the leadership of G. Derwood Baker the South Pasadena Junior High School remade its curriculum to make possible for everyone expression in a variety of media other than English.¹ The elementary schools of Wilmington, Delaware, under the direction of Miss Jane Driver, have for the past ten years utilized many media of expression as a basis for building better individuality. The freeing of teachers and pupils from the rigid requirements of fixed subject-matter so that they can plan their work coöperatively is fundamental in modern state programs of curriculum development, such as those of California and Kansas. The Lincoln School of

¹ G. Derwood Baker, "Creative Education at South Pasadena." *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House*, February, 1935, pp. 328-333.

Teachers College, the Ethical Culture School, The Tower Hill School, and many other private schools also illustrate this trend.

3 The better schools now aid learners to understand democracy by exemplifying in their practice the type of democratic society demanded by the deepest yearnings of the American historic spirit. By studying his own problems of corporate living the learner comes to know how to work and play with others, to delegate responsibility to those who are best able to use it intelligently for the good of the group; to understand, feel, and behave in desirable functional relationship to his group, to see how his life is conditioned at every point by the lives of others. Through wise guidance in the study of his problems of living over a period of years the learner comes increasingly to utilize democratic experimental processes in finding satisfactory new ways of adjustment. He behaves more intelligently in attacking any reasonable problem of living within his range of experience and interest. He acquires confidence in his own ability, developed through the critical aid of his group, to improve the situation by bringing the irritating aspects under control, thereby making for better living conditions for all. Thus does the new school furnish knowledge of and practice in democracy as aspects of behavior in improved living.

Two schools which illustrate this movement are the Fox Meadow School in Scarsdale, New York and the Junior College at Pasadena, California. In the former the children have large responsibility in planning their own programs of living from day to day, week by week, year by year, as their development indicates. This includes all of the essential characteristics of the democratic process. The Pasadena Junior College is organized as a democracy with the students assuming responsibility for the management of the life of the school. The teachers act as older individuals who share in

shaping the general policies and execute them whenever such responsibility is delegated. It exemplifies the best trend in the democratic educational practice.

4 Our schools increasingly aid learners as they face the problems of human adjustment to supplant reliance upon the dogmatic authority of the past with reliance upon conclusions formulated by the best use of human intelligence in the present. This means that the school can take no docile attitude toward the life which is the basis of its curriculum. Within the range of his experience and intellectual powers, the learner in our better schools is stimulated from his earliest years not only to extend the range of his experiences in life but to think critically and experimentally about them. He is constantly encouraged to think in terms of individual and group action, the consequences of which will expand, revise, and test his ideas and purposes. Thus he comes to see that standards and values are derived from experiences and are modified in accordance with an increased number or in terms of a more critical evaluation of experiences. Truth, laws, standards, values, or any other general guides to behavior being experimentally developed out of experiences, are relative rather than fixed. They are not static rules governing conduct, but are flexible ways of interpreting variable conditions in a changing life. These things the newer school outlook seeks to build up in its pupils.

A case in point is furnished by the travel study projects at Lincoln School during 1937-1938 under a subvention from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. Fifty high-school seniors took a twelve-day study tour through the Tennessee Valley Authority and other governmental and private planning projects in the South. Another group of fifty eleventh-grade pupils took a study tour to the heart of the coal mining and steel industries in and around Pittsburgh and West Virginia. Still another group of fifty ninth-grade pupils went into rural New Eng-

land to live eight days in the homes of farmers there to study a simple and less mechanized social order to obtain further insight into living in a machine age.¹

The State Teachers College at Montclair, New Jersey, also under a subvention from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, has taken prospective teachers to different sections of the United States to study at first hand various aspects of American life in order better to understand how our standards and values have been derived and the problems of remaking them in the light of the changing culture.

5. The emerging school theory recognizes that guidance is an aspect of all proper learning and must therefore be centered in the intelligent management of the learning situation. Any attempt to dissociate guidance from learning and center it in administrative machinery and procedure is misinterpreting the function of guidance in the democratic process. Furthermore, this guidance cannot be isolated in terms of educational and vocational guidance or similar categories. Neither can it be carried on effectively in a situation in which a learner attempts to grapple with minute segments of his problems or experience under individual teachers who never see the total situation and the relationships of the parts thereto. Guidance of any individual can best be carried on by one who understands both the internal and external conditions of the total situation and who has the confidence of the individual who is being guided. Under the direction of the guiding individual, aspects of the internal or external conditions may be isolated for examination and study by competent specialists to the end that they may contribute to a better management of the total situation. The interactive process should operate in all guidance as in all good learning.

¹ For a description of one of these projects see accounts by G. Derwood Baker and Louis Rathis on "Experiencing the Realities of the Social Order" in *Educational Research Bulletin*, Ohio State University, October 19, 1938, pp. 173-208.

situations. It is this conception of guidance that one finds increasingly embodied in better American practice.

In the University School of Ohio State University guidance is considered a quality in the process of learning at all age levels. This quality can best be described as a coöperative effort of all learners to see every undertaking in all its significant aspects, both internal and external, and to carry it on in such a way as to respect and improve the individuality of everyone. In Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont, the same conception of guidance operates. It functions through a trial major in one of the fields of art, the dance, drama, music, literature, social studies, or science which the student selects in consultation with his adviser. Accompanying this trial major is a workshop group in which the student acquires the "tools" of thought related to his own investigations. Through the trial major the student is aided in selecting such other fields of interest as the college can aid him to develop.

Other colleges which have the same conception of relationship between learning and guidance are Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, which is the only college of its type for men only, New College at Teachers College, Columbia University; and Black Mountain College at Black Mountain, North Carolina.

6. The newer school practice recognizes that administration exists for the purpose of making possible the best external conditions in which to promote the improvement of living for all learners and thus contribute positively toward the building of their creative individuality. It is a pleasure to see schools and systems increasingly managed on the thought that administrative need arises from the learning process and is not external to it, and that administrative effectiveness is measured by the improvement which it makes in the learning

process and not by standards set up out of harmony with it. The spirit of schools so managed is far better than what formerly prevailed. In them administration is not conceived of as an end in itself and it does not assume superiority over the process.

This point of view makes insistent demands upon the older types of administration still too frequent. Administration must discard its authoritarian conceptions of life and living and bring itself within the democratic process. It must scrutinize all types of organization recommended to it from outside social agencies such as business and the army. It must firmly reject all administrative arrangements that are not primarily concerned with the upbuilding of creative individuality in everyone. And it is just these things that the better administration is already doing. To this end it has no fixed patterns which cannot be modified from time to time in the interests of learning groups. Its keynote is flexibility, not regimentation. In order to meet its real needs it is constantly evolving creative responses to meet new needs in the novel aspects of living, and is constantly examining the record of its refined experiences as interpreted in schedules, records, reports, and the like, so as to make sure of their continued value in promoting rather than hindering the expansion of the viewpoint upon which it rests. Too much of the old still remains, but four good illustrations of the new are found in Brockton, Massachusetts, in Glencoe, Illinois, in Denver, Colorado; and in Pasadena, California. In all of these teachers, parents, and pupils participate in making school policies. In each case the superintendent represents the profession in his relations with the Board of Education.

Finally, the entire physical plant is being actually relocated, redesigned, and reinterpreted, not everywhere, to be sure, but still all over the country. The school building is increasingly planned as a place in which life can be lived at its fullest.

More and more it is the center in which all organized educational community activities may take place. Space, light, heat, and equipment are being articulated to the functional use of learners at all ages, from children to adults. Units common to all age groups are appropriately designed, while those for limited age groups are segregated and made as attractive as possible. The educational factory of the era of rugged individualism is definitely giving way to the educational home in which work, study, play, social adjustments, emotional up-building, deliberative discussion, and individual meditation take place in inviting and congenial surroundings. Those citizens who know only the old would hardly recognize the new. Such a building to serve a wide variety of community activities of children and adults is now in process of development in Dover, Delaware.

7. Educational theory of today increasingly recognizes that the principles herein stated apply also to the preparation of its teachers. And actual teacher preparation has already begun so to shape itself. No individual can attend an authoritarian elementary and secondary school, meet a fixed curriculum in a liberal-arts college for a degree, follow prescribed courses and undemocratic methods of teaching in a teachers' college, study a body of subject-matter isolated from his own personal problems of living, and be by such experiences equipped to assume leadership in the kind of school herein described—a school committed to the promotion of socially creative individuality. The teacher who obtains his pre-professional education in schools which do not exemplify the democratic way of life, who conceives of education as something taught to little children within the four walls of a schoolroom primarily from books, is in so far handicapped. In his professional preparation in a teachers' college his own problems of living must become a basic part of his curriculum if he is to learn how to deal with them intelligently. He must build himself more widely and

deeply into the social culture through the democratic process in order that he may bring to the school greater stability in terms of his own integration and better understanding of the process as it works in his own living. From the very outset of his professional preparation he must live closely with individuals of all age levels, and especially with those for whom he will have major educational responsibility. Individuals who exhibit little evidence of resolving successfully the internal and external conditions in their own problems of living should be guided away from teaching as a vocation since their own unadjusted behavior may affect unfavorably that of the individuals with whom they would be associated.

Fortunately, there are some excellent examples of this new movement in teacher training. The Milwaukee State Teachers College has a national reputation for a curriculum organized around the functional needs of prospective teachers instead of the older subject categories. For a number of years the State College of Education at Greeley, Colorado, has departed from the customary procedure of admitting large numbers of applicants and has set up rigid entrance requirements designed to select individuals who show promise of becoming successful teachers. The State Teachers College at Newark, New Jersey, has an outstanding guidance clinic which advises with its prospective teachers on their personal and professional adjustment problems.

And teachers already at work in the classrooms are not overlooked. Each teacher actively at work in any properly managed school system is now studying under the guidance of his associates and special contributors his own personal problems of living and those of the children and their parents. The newer programs of in-service education of teachers are abandoning artificial incentives to improvement and eliminating the old-type of supervision. A congenial, sympathetic, realistic environment is recognized as adequate for continued growth.

In this way the teacher's professional education continues uninterruptedly along the desirable lines begun in the teachers college. A marked result of such a program is that each teacher is becoming increasingly expert in the techniques of the democratic process of living and learning. He is becoming recognized in the community as an expert in this process and is being called upon to render service in guiding varied types of community activities. Thus he builds the technique deeper and deeper into the surrounding culture and renders the one type of service above all others for which his professional education has prepared him.¹

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD THE BETTER TYPE OF SCHOOL

The historic beginning of a school to meet this function of developing socially creative individuals was made by Horace Mann. He saw each individual so inextricably woven in the web of other individuals that no desirable long-time growth and development of any one person could be considered without reference to all others. He believed that everyone was properly interested in the education of everybody else, which means that the whole country is interested in the education of all of its children. He argued that nothing but universal education could counteract the tendency to domination by capital and to servility in labor, that education was beyond all other device of human origin, the great equalizer of the conditions of men and the balance wheel of social machinery. The great awakening in American education which Mann initiated and fostered did not reach full fruition in his lifetime due to external conditions in the situation which he could not control.

¹ For an excellent illustration of this type of in-service program see L. Thomas Hopkins, and Others, *Integration—Its Meaning and Application* (D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937), pp. 267-270, in which the program in Los Angeles County is described. Any school system with a forward-looking program of curriculum development exemplifies this trend.

Probably, too, he overestimated the contribution which the school by itself could make. But it was he who more than anyone else set the lines for the subsequent development of the American public school.

In Quincy, Massachusetts, from 1875 to 1880, Colonel Francis W. Parker pushed urgently forward actual practice in the democratic conception of the schools. He insisted that neither history, nor nature study, nor geography, nor any other subject could be the center of the curriculum. The center must be the child in his relationships with the social environment. He worked with his teachers to formulate a course of study with the development of socialized individuality as the functioning center. Later, as principal of the Cook County Normal School, he struggled to make the promotion of his democratic conception of education the central function of a teacher training institution. Surrounded by a faculty of innovators, experimentalists, students of childhood, reinterpreters of the social culture, his school became the national pedagogical center for his period.

While Colonel Parker was attempting to put his ideas into practice, Professor John Dewey was developing, even more fundamentally, his theories of education around the same nucleus of life activities that had served as Parker's orienting center. Dewey urged that the content of the school subjects as reading, writing, and arithmetic should not be taught as separate subjects but developed out of the life activities of children and their methods of living and learning. He maintained that the children in the school were to be active and not passive, that they were to work, not merely to listen, that their social tendencies should be an orienting and directing center for all of their activities. Through his Laboratory School he demonstrated the practical applications of his theory,¹ and

¹ Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, *The Dewey School* (D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936).

through papers, lectures, and other contacts with school people he disseminated his ideas.

Inspired by the work of these two men, both public and private experimental schools have developed all over the country. In 1918 these new schools formed the Progressive Education Association, based upon the principles that the child should develop socially and naturally, that the teacher should be a guide, not a taskmaster, that there should be greater cooperation between the home, the school, and the community to meet the life needs of the children, and that the method of learning should ever be the democratic interactive process.¹

Recently through a subvention from one of the large foundations the Progressive Education Association has been carrying on experiments in the remaking of the secondary-school curriculum in selected schools over the country, primarily for individuals who will continue their education in college. The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools is also engaged in promoting the newer type of education. The State of California has eleven experimental high schools working along the same line. Recently the State of Michigan has undertaken an experimental program for the improvement of secondary education. Many other schools in America are carrying out individual experimentation to provide a better means of remaking through the school the lives of boys and girls who do not plan to attend college, which includes of course a majority of the pupils now enrolled in secondary schools. A most interesting experiment of this type is in the Alexandria Junior High School at San Bernardino, California, which enrolls primarily children of Mexican parents. In consultation with teachers, parents, and pupils,

¹ For a clear treatment of the creative activities of these and other individuals in the field of education in our times, see Harold Rugg, *American Life and the School Curriculum* (Ginn Co., 1936).

Nate Wilson, the principal, worked out a program of living around four major areas: problems of becoming literate, problems of improving our health, problems of understanding our community, problems of having fun. These four areas of living consume the entire time and attention of pupils and teachers in cooperation with the parents.

The new awakening is found all over America, from the smallest hamlet to the largest city school systems it is taking place. Individual teachers, groups of teachers, and individual schools have caught the vision and are working rapidly, almost desperately, to make their schools exemplify democratic living. They are motivated by a desire to have the crises in our democratic life resolved by intelligence rather than by threats of force and physical conflict. They know that we must appeal to common reasoning in solving the problems of a culture or accept the alternative of force which now threatens in so large a part of the world.¹

SOCIALIZED CREATIVE INDIVIDUALITY THE BASIS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

The new schools are making every effort to fulfill the American destiny in the democratic way of life. To this end they concern themselves with all of the life activities in and out of school, twenty-four hours a day, of each individual at his age level. They are aiding him to study his problems of living by the interactive process in their wider relationships in the surrounding culture. Thus does the school try to exemplify democracy in every aspect of its being at all times. It is acting as a center to which individuals, young and old, are bringing their problems of living in order to obtain helpful

¹ L. Thomas Hopkins and Others, *Integration: Its Meaning and Application* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937). Additional references will be found in other sections of this *Yearbook*.

guidance to intelligent decisions in directing their activities. The newer school is recognizing that it, more than any other institution of society, is charged with the responsibility of rendering this service. Only in this way can it discharge its unique function of aiding each person to build a socialized creative individuality. But even the best attempts thus far made are not enough. The best schools must become even yet better. More schools must participate. All must unite in making the school a dynamic power for the upbuilding of democracy.

Chapter X

THE WORK OF THE PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION IN CURRICULUM RECONSTRUCTION



In this educational awakening no instrumentality is making as great a contribution as that of the Progressive Education Association, especially through the program of its commissions. Conspicuous among these commissions are the following:

1. *Commission on the Relation of Secondary School and College*, Wilford M. Aikin, Ohio State University, Chairman
2. *Commission on the Secondary School Curriculum*, Dr. V. T. Thayer of the Ethical Culture Schools, New York City, Chairman.
3. *Commission on Human Relations*, Dr. Alice V. Kehrer, Chairman.
4. *Commission on Educational Freedom*, Dr. Goodwin Watson, Teachers College, Chairman

To illustrate the epoch-marking work of the Progressive Education Association through these commissions we review the work of the first one briefly.

THE COMMISSION ON THE RELATION OF SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

This Commission ¹ was established in October, 1930. The Progressive Education movement, beginning in the elemen-

¹ The material for this introductory statement about this Commission was prepared by its chairman, Professor Wilford M. Aikin, Ohio State University.

tary school, had finally advanced into the secondary school. At its spring conference in 1930 approximately 150 men and women, deeply interested in developing the principles of progressive education in practice in the secondary schools, considered the changes that ought to be made. Almost every sound proposal was met with the statement "Yes, that should be done, but the colleges will not permit it. Significant departures from the conventional high-school curriculum cannot be made without jeopardizing the chances of students for admission to college."

This statement was made so often that the conference was about to end in a general feeling of frustration and futility. However, some of the members, believing that the colleges also desired improvement in secondary education, secured the appointment of a commission of twenty-six members to study the problems of the secondary school and its relation to the college.

The Commission during the first two years had two major objectives: first, to clarify the thinking of educators concerning the changes that ought to be made in American secondary education, second, to devise a feasible plan of school and college cooperation. During the winter of 1931-1932 many small, informal round-table conferences were held with representatives of the colleges. A plan of cooperation was finally approved by which a large number of colleges agreed to admit the graduates of thirty secondary schools (about equally divided between public and private schools) without examination or certification in the conventional secondary units.

The schools began the work of building new curricula in the fall of 1933. Each school developed its own plans of work and decided for itself what changes should be made in its curriculum, organization, and procedure. Annual conferences of approximately a week in length were held at Bennington

College in 1933, at the George School in 1934; and Thousand Island Park in 1935. As the schools began to see more clearly the changes that ought to be made, the task of developing and organizing new curriculum materials became so heavy that the schools asked for help. In response to that request, through funds provided by the General Education Board, curriculum assistants began their work with the schools in September, 1936.

The curriculum assistants have now been at work two years. The leader among them, Dr. Harold Alberty, having seen the work in most of the schools, has prepared the following statement.¹

*The Development of Core Curricula in the
Schools of the Eight-Year Study*

Recent attempts at curriculum reorganization have brought into the literature of education a number of terms which are very confusing. "Basic Courses," "Unified Studies," "Integrated Courses," "Stem Courses," and "Social Living Courses," are just a few of the names which have been applied to programs which tend to transcend the bounds of traditional subjects.

For purposes of this discussion, the term *core curriculum* will be used, even though it is recognized to have a variety of meanings. To some, it refers to the work which is required of all, or nearly all, of the students of a given school. For example, if English, social science, and physical education are required courses, those subjects are designated as the core. In the sense in which the term is used in this report, it has a more restricted meaning. In general, it may be said to refer to a course, required of all, or nearly all students, which deals with broad problems or topics without regard to subject-matter.

¹ Pages 276 to 283 were written in October, 1938, by Dr. Harold Alberty, Director of the University Schools, Ohio State University.

lines. It is designed to avoid the evils of compartmentalized subject-matter by dealing with all of the aspects or implications of a problem as a unified whole.

The core curricula which are developing in the thirty schools may be classified into a number of types or approaches. These will be discussed briefly.

1. *The Culture-Epoch Approach*

Soon after the beginning of the Eight-Year Study, President Robert D. Leigh of Bennington College made an analysis of the programs of the twenty-seven schools which were then included in the study.¹ He found that a number of schools were already experimenting with core curricula. In these programs a relatively large block of time (from two to three hours per day) was set aside for the study of problems or units which cut across subject-matter lines. In most cases this was accomplished by enriching the courses in chronological history by dealing with the various aspects of a given culture. Thus Ancient Greece was studied in terms of art, music, literature, science as well as the social, economic, and political life of the time.

Occasionally such courses were planned and taught cooperatively from the outset. In other cases, a coordinating teacher was responsible for the general planning. This teacher called in specialists from the various fields for the presentation of pertinent materials. Courses of this sort were defended on the ground that the student secured a well-rounded unified view of a given culture, instead of getting fragments in various unrelated courses. A general criticism of courses of this type is that far too much attention is given to the past. Even though the group of teachers responsible for the program may be sensitive to the need for focusing upon present-day

¹ "Twenty-seven High School Plans," *Progressive Education*, Vol. X, November, 1933, pp. 373-380.

problems, all too frequently the orientation is in terms of the past. The work of the earlier years is a sort of preparation for the consideration of current problems later on. This is partially corrected by a constant "shuttling" between problems of contemporary living and the past. This plan became known as the *culture-epoch* approach. In modified form it is still to be found in a few schools.

2. *The Unified Studies Approach*

A number of schools apparently accepted the underlying philosophy of the *culture-epoch* approach, but for obvious reasons were not able to reorganize their programs in such diastatic fashion. They therefore confined their changes to the uniting of history and English. Chronological history provided the sequence, but the scope was enlarged by introducing a study of the literature of a given period. Frequently, to avoid raising the cost of instruction, two sections (one of history and one of English) were thrown together and were taught by two teachers. At certain times the history teacher would be in charge, at others the English teacher would deal with the literary aspects. This plan proved to be quite unsatisfactory, because all too often the English teachers felt that they had become hand-maidens of the social-science teachers. They felt that they were hampered by being required to confine their efforts to the literature of a certain period. It was not unusual to find instances of complete separation even though the plan had been made administratively possible by scheduling an English class and a social-science class consecutively in interconnecting rooms, and providing complete freedom to cooperate. After two or three years of struggle most schools saw the folly of attempting to "put subjects together." These attempts did, however, pave the way to the development of courses which gave up the idea of chrono-

logical sequence and introduced functional subject-matter from many fields

When the study had been under way about three years, schools began seriously to reexamine their purposes. Under the impetus of the Evaluation Staff,¹ which held that no evaluation program could be set up until teachers formulated the goals toward which they were striving, and a small group of educational philosophers, who held that the education should derive its purposes from the democratic tradition, schools began to formulate new statements of purpose. These statements varied considerably in content, but all of them were committed to democracy as a way of life and to the necessity of reorganizing the program in such a way as to meet the needs of youth and so to promote optimum development of personality and the fullest participation in common concerns.

Obviously there are many different means open to schools for the realization of the goals implied in the above general statement of purposes. Some schools held that such purposes might be achieved by holding to conventional subject-matter lines, but reorganizing content within the subject. Other schools sought to reorganize in terms of broad fields. Thus courses in science (which included pertinent materials from physics, chemistry, biology, and astronomy) began to appear. A third group of schools held that a thoroughgoing program required that subject-matter lines be more or less completely ignored. These schools set up "core programs" of various sorts, the main outlines of which will presently be described.

3. The Contemporary-Problems Approach

This program resembles closely the culture-epoch approach discussed above. However, there is a more or less complete

¹ Directed by Dr. Ralph Tyler, now Director of the Graduate School of Education, University of Chicago

break with chronology. Crucial issues of the time are taken as the basis for study. The Sino-Japanese conflict is a good illustration of the type of unit developed. In one school this started a study which went on for months and which embraced a thorough study of Chinese culture, including the arts and literature. Teachers from the various fields cooperated freely in making the experience rich and meaningful.

4. The Adolescent-Needs Approach

A number of schools have been greatly influenced by the work of the Progressive Education Association's Commission on the Secondary School Curriculum, and the Commission on Human Relations, about which a word will be said later. Drawing heavily from the formulations of adolescent needs of the Science Committee¹ of the first named Commission, and a statement of the "concerns of adolescents" made by the latter, certain schools sought to define their core curricula in terms of the personal-social interactions of the individual in the various aspects of living. In terms of such categories as "personal living, immediate personal-social relationships, social-civic and economic relationships," attempts are being made to discover the broad basic needs of young people in a given situation and to build units of work designed to meet these needs in such a way as to develop the "characteristics of personality" which are implicit in the ideals of a democratic society. There is no single pattern of such programs, but they are similar in purpose and spirit.

A number of schools in the Eight-Year Study that are working within this general "needs" framework are developing "source units" dealing with some of the common areas of adolescent needs. At the Rocky Mountain Workshop of the Progressive Education Association, which was held during the

¹ *Science in General Education* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938)

summer of 1938, a number of these units were worked out by teachers representing various fields. A typical illustration of the procedure is a unit entitled "Living in the Home"¹. It was prepared by classroom teachers from the following areas: social science, English, industrial arts, home economics, physical education, and the fine arts. According to the committee, "A source unit is a preliminary exploration of a broad problem or topic to discover its teaching possibilities. . . . A source unit usually contains some analysis of the problem or topic under consideration to show its relationship to current and recurrent problems of children and of our society. It may include lists of pupil needs and interests which may give rise to the study of the problem and lists of desirable changes in pupil behavior which may be effected by this study. The heart of a source unit is usually a list of possible activities and experiences to meet these needs and interests and bring about these changes of behavior. There may also be a bibliography of helpful materials and suggestions for evaluation." This source unit deals with the following phases of the problem: general philosophy, source and distribution of family income, face-to-face relationships, housing, social significance of the home, preparation for marriage, budgeting in the family, critical evaluation of advertisements, the effect of motion pictures on family life, and the like. Each phase is dealt with in terms of pupil problems, suggestive learning experiences, group and individual projects, and suggestions for developing characteristics of behavior important in a democratic society.

These source units afford much assistance to teachers who work in core programs. They are, of course, not intended to be followed, but rather to afford suggestions for the develop-

¹ Prepared by Chandos Regier, Marjorie Downs, Ella Fellows, Earl Parce, William Boehmer, and Howard Cummings, and members of the Eight-Year Study Staff.

ment of pupil-teacher planned learning units. They are particularly valuable in situations in which one teacher is called upon to teach the complete unit

The Pupil-Teacher Planned Curriculum

When President Leigh made his analysis of the initial plans of the schools of the Eight-Year Study, he ventured the opinion that "completely to the left of these programs, there could surely be conceived a senior high school program in line with modern psychology and 'progressive' education, which in its radical approach to the problem of learning, would begin where these leave off." Probably this conception has not been realized, but in spirit at least certain programs do appear to be considerably to the "left" ¹ Some schools are experimenting with a "core program" which contains no previously organized subject-matter. A group of teachers working with students tries to ascertain through a study of the previous backgrounds of pupils, their common and special interests, and their immediate and probable future needs, the kinds of experience which seem most desirable. Pupils and teachers develop criteria of a good educational experience, apply them to alternative suggestions, and finally plan a unit of work which gives play not only to common interests, but also provides fully for the exploration of the more specialized interests of pupils. Thus a study of the community may be undertaken which includes a general attack upon problems of common interest to the group, but which provides for all sorts of special projects of interest to small groups or individuals.

These pupil-teacher planned core curricula are not fundamentally different from those described above, except in that there is probably a much wider range of choice of units, and hence greater flexibility in adapting the activities to the de-

¹ Robert D. Leigh, *op cit*, p. 380

veloping interests and needs of pupils. They do, however, illustrate an interesting trend in secondary-school curriculum development. Their success depends in large measure upon the initiative and ingenuity of broadly trained teachers who see clearly the goals of the educative process which they wish to achieve, and who are willing to subordinate the teaching of fixed bodies of subject-matter to the meeting of needs and the development of interests.

In this brief sketch of core curriculum development in the schools of the Eight-Year Study, it has been impossible to describe fully the work which is being carried on. An adequate picture would require a careful study of each school's program.¹ It should also be emphasized that the plans tend to blend even *in the same school*. The work of one year may represent the "Culture-Epoch" approach, another the "Contemporary-Problem" or "Needs" approach, while some of the units may be good examples of pupil-teacher planning. This merely indicates that the programs are in an experimental stage.

It is too early to evaluate the success of these departures from the conventional curriculum. To some educators they seem superficial and entirely devoid of the possibilities of system building on the part of pupils. To others they are looked upon as a practical means of dealing with the actual problems which young people face. Whatever may be the final verdict, it may be said with certainty that these courses have brought new vitality to teaching and learning, and that many teachers are being reborn in the process of living and working with others.

¹ See *Social Education* for April, 1938, for descriptions of the work done in some of these schools

THE PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION'S COMMISSION ON THE SECONDARY-SCHOOL CURRICULUM ¹

As the work of the Commission on the Relation of School and College progressed, it became clear that a second commission was needed, in the light of the needs of adolescents and the society in which they live, to undertake a fundamental study of the problem of reorganization in secondary education.

In May, 1932, the Commission on the Secondary-School Curriculum was appointed, with Dr. V. T. Thayer as its Chairman. During the school year 1932-1933 a number of conferences were held, composed of leaders in secondary schools, college teachers, and workers in social and civic organizations and in the field of adolescent development. They agreed that secondary education should take its character from the urgent needs that grow out of the characteristics of adolescent youth and the impact of contemporary life and conditions upon them. The function of the secondary school, they said, should be that of furthering effective participation in the essential relationships of life. To reorganize the secondary school along the lines of these broad objectives, an adequate understanding of adolescents, based upon first-hand information, appeared to be a first requisite, most of the material available was based on more or less superficial opinion, and very little on more careful observation and study of adolescents themselves.

A Committee on the Study of Adolescents, therefore, was set up within the Commission to discover, collect, and inter-

¹ This statement concerning the work of the Progressive Education Association's Commissions on Secondary-School Curriculum and on Human Relations has been prepared by the Editor from "Progressive Education Advances" A Program to Educate Youth for Present Day Living (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937).

pret such information about the adolescent as is pertinent to the problems of curriculum reorganization. It became the task of the Committee to construct a picture of the total personality of the adolescent viewed from an emotional, an intellectual, and a physical angle, with all of these approaches integrated against a home, a school, and a community background.

The task of research was begun with the collection of case-history material from samplings of typical adolescent groups, including 650 young people ranging from the junior high school through the fourth year of college, and from as wide a variety of social, economic, cultural, and geographic backgrounds as was possible.

Valuable data were gathered from face-to-face contacts with the adolescents themselves, from a study of their creative work in science, literature, art, and the like, from all available records of their behavior and achievement, and from reports of such intimate contacts as teachers and research workers had with them. Sociologists, anthropologists, and educators worked together in this study.

The Commission has also organized conference groups composed of specialists in subject-matter, students of society and its institutions, school administrators, experts in adolescent development and workers with young people in school and community relations outside of the school, to study the contributions of their respective areas for the orientation of young people in the various relationships of life. Committees in many of the departments of secondary education have been vigorously charged with the responsibility of examining and formulating the function and purpose of their respective disciplines in the field of secondary education. In the fields of social studies, mathematics, language, art, and literature and English, investigations are well under way and reports will be

published in 1939,¹ together with a general volume on *Reorganizing Secondary Education*.

It is the firm belief of this Commission that through co-operative work between the experts in the different disciplines or fields of knowledge, experienced teachers in schools and colleges, and experts in the field of adolescent development, the curriculum reorganization and reconstruction of the secondary schools will bring about their true function in education.

THE PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION'S COMMISSION
ON HUMAN RELATIONS

In the summer of 1935 a group of experts in various fields concerned with human relations, met at Hanover, New Hampshire, to consider and to suggest materials and means for dealing with the many questions raised by young people concerning their fears, aspirations and perplexities and unspoken tensions and distortions. Feeling that the answers to these could only be found in the existing fields of anthropology, psychology, psychiatry, sociology, biology, child study, and literature, they set about collecting the materials that needed to be made available. First, there was the need of organizing materials in a way that would be fruitful for adults working with adolescents;² second, that of reorganizing and rewriting materials for young people, their parents and teachers.

¹ A report of the English group on *Teaching Creative Writing and Science in General Education* have already been published. *Art in General Education*, and *Bibliography of Prose Fiction* are nearing publication. Other publications include a report from the groups investigating the teaching of mathematics, as well as material from the Committee on the Study of Adolescents. All of the books and reports of the Progressive Education Association commissions are being published by D. Appleton-Century Co., New York.

² The Hanover Conference prepared an *Outline of Personality and Culture* which brought together in an entirely new sequence a series of topics for study and a compilation of urgently needed insights into the relation between individual development and the cultural setting.

It was this second task that was turned over to the Progressive Education Association, and in the spring of 1935 the *Commission of Human Relations*, with Alice V. Keliher as chairman, was formed to carry on the work. First, it gathered, assembled and interpreted questions and issues raised by adolescents, that had been turned over to the Commission by teachers, club workers, and young people themselves. Next, a series of books was organized, covering the areas around which a number of the questions of adolescents centered. A program¹ of publication was planned which included books on the problems of family living, the paradoxes of human behavior and concerns about normality—to be used by high-school students—and source books for further study—to be used by teachers and other adults working with youth. It was also decided to include in the Commission's publication program two books dealing with literary experiences and human relations.

A major addition to the Commission's program came in 1937, when the film libraries of the motion-picture companies were opened to it for the selection of significant human experiences from the vast storehouses of feature photoplays and newsreels.

¹ Volumes sponsored by the Commission published in 1938 include *The Family Past and Present*, edited by Bernhard Stern, a source book for the use of college students, teachers, and high-school students who wish to explore this problem further, *Literature as Exploration* by Louise Rosenblatt, intended for teachers' use and including many suggestions for the teaching of literature on the high-school and college level, *Life and Growth* by Alice Keliher, dealing with physical growth, mental growth, social growth, heredity and the like, for high-school students, and a book for parents, *Do Adolescents Need Parents?* by Katharine Whiteside Taylor, the purpose of which is to help parents understand the changing needs of their children who are passing through adolescence in present-day America, and the corresponding changes necessary in their parental rôle if they are to fulfil these needs wisely and with real satisfaction to their children and themselves. Forthcoming volumes from the Commission include *Society and Family Life*, for high-school students, *Psychology and Human Living*, and a collection of short stories edited by Robert Wunsch. All these books are published or will be published by D. Appleton-Century Co., New York.

Part III

*THE CULTURE AND THE
GROWTH OF THE
INDIVIDUAL*

The argument of our book enters now upon a new phase. In earlier parts we have studied the social situation which confronts American education, including the demands thus made on education. We have canvassed the resources available for dealing with these demands and have considered a rising new conception of education that gives promise of meeting them.

Now we begin the closer study of a positive educational program. Our first inquiry, the task of Chapter XI, is to consider how certain aspects of the informal social life inherently exert powerful educative effects, so powerful in fact as seemingly to overshadow and dominate all other educational effects upon the individual. The reference, it need hardly be said, is to the culture. We have to study first how the culture molds each individual to its model, and then ask what possible steps can be taken to change or guide the culture to a better model.

Following this study of the rôle of the culture, in Chapter XII, we examine the growth process, noting the principal stages through which human development takes place and, for each one, typical ways of

growth and adjustment and the chief emotional-cultural pressures

Finally, in Chapter XIII, we consider the parallel psychological problems of learning and living, how closely interrelated they are and what implications follow for guiding the educative process.

Chapter XI

THE CULTURE AND THE INDIVIDUAL ¹

* * *

The word *culture* as used in the chapter title is employed, we need hardly say, in the anthropological sense and as such is to be clearly distinguished from an older and more familiar usage where superiority of intellectual and aesthetic taste is implied. According to anthropology, each distinguishable social group has its distinctive culture, embracing all the ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that distinguish that group from others.

WHAT WE MEAN BY CULTURE

The culture means then for this discussion all of the man-made part or aspect of the human environment. It includes in particular such things as language, customs, tools, knowledge, ideals, standards, and institutions. If civilized life differs from that of primitive man, it is largely if not entirely because of the different culture that has been accumulated since those early days. It is nature, we say, that supplies to man the raw materials which he uses for his life purposes, but it is the group culture which determines how he will use these original raw materials. If we eat apples bigger and better than the little sour crabapples, it is because the culture has through the years built, by selection, better varieties and has learned better how to cultivate them. If we who live in New York eat apples grown in the Pacific Northwest, it is because the culture sup-

¹ This chapter was written by William H. Kilpatrick

plies not only railroads but business corporations and law and order and commercial customs and all the other man-made contrivances which directly or indirectly underlie the apple business

The contributions of the culture are so many and so pervasive in our lives that it takes an effort to think what life without the culture would be. If by some miracle each of us now living in the world were suddenly divested of all that the culture has given, we should find ourselves a kind of higher ape, without language, without customs, and recognizing nothing of the ordinary implements of our now usual living. Clothes and houses would mean next to nothing. Cooking would vanish. Hunger would drive us to eager searching for food, but we should have to learn by blind trial what is good to eat, and almost all would soon starve, because we should know nothing of how to grow or otherwise secure the needed foodstuffs.

We can get some idea of what the culture does for us by contrasting the differences in manners and customs to be found the world over. If the Brahmans surprise us by eating with their fingers, we surprise them by using cups and plates that others have previously used. Nay more, we disgust them by using a handkerchief more than once, by washing our bodies in a tub instead of in running water, and most of all by our eating flesh. When we go to China or Japan, our friends there, with the most kindly of attitudes toward us, have to excuse us time and time again for failing to observe certain refinements of intercourse that seem to them so natural as to be imperative. On our part it seems, for instance, that monogamy is the only proper marriage, but in many parts of the world polygamy is so intrenched that wife No. 1 encourages her husband to bring home Nos. 2 and 3 and if possible 4 and 5. The more the better. It adds to the dignity of the household and divides the work. Also to us it seems proper that the man

should be the aggressive member of society, but Margaret Mead reports tribes where it is the women who are aggressive. Possibly, the extreme case for us is found in those tribes who, believing that the dead live in the spirit world forever with the same strength they had at death, therefore kill their aged while they are still relatively vigorous. A young man will thus in filial love kill his father that he may live comfortably forever in the hereafter. So far does the culture go to determine how men will think and act.

The culture we have said is cumulative. Each generation transmits more or less completely the used parts, both of what it had received and of what it has contrived. The cultural continuity, which is the essential factor in the perpetuation of any particular type of civilization, is thus maintained by the fact of individual learning. In sum, the culture is communicable intelligence. It is embodied on the one hand in the contrived objects and institutions through which the group carries on the varied processes of its associated living. It is at the same time and on the other hand as truly embodied in the people who thus live together using the resources made available to them by the culture. It is in the light of such consideration that John Dewey has said that all that is distinctively human is learned.

THE EFFECT OF THE CULTURE ON THE INDIVIDUAL

To understand better the dependence of the individual upon the culture for what he thinks and values as well as for what he mostly does in outward fashion, consider the facts of the infant's growth in life after his start at birth. Each human is born into a group possessed of its peculiar culture and occupying its specific habitat. While the respective cultures of any two neighboring groups may have many similarities, they will if examined closely enough show many sig-

nificant differences. So the child at birth has awaiting all about him a peculiar culture in actual use by the members of the family and the community into which he is born. His helplessness makes their care of him absolutely necessary not only to his well-being, but even to his continued existence. At least in his early years, he must live with others and upon others if he is to live at all. These pregnant conditions of life bring it about that each normal child learns at least the more elemental culture of his group. He must eat the food they offer, prepared after their manner, and served as they serve it. Similarly, he learns to dress as they dress and talk as they talk. He engages in their festival days and accepts their manners, their standards, and their ideals. What happens when the group culture has no single or uniform pattern to be accepted we shall later discuss, but where the group culture is homogeneous and self-consistent the child by the very fact of growing up in the group and sharing in its life acquires its distinctive culture.

The fact that the growing child thus learns the culture of his group is so significant for educational theory and for the building of the individual, that we must dwell upon it further, looking more closely at the process by which this learning takes place and sensing more intimately how far-reaching are the effects of the learning upon the very selfhood of the learner.

In a later chapter on the learning process we shall consider the psychology involved in this child learning. Here it is the part played by the culture that concerns us, or rather how the child is formed by the culture as he interacts with the surrounding social life built on that culture.

All life is, of course, interaction between the organism and its environment. The child thus interacts, of necessity as we have seen, with his family environment. His life depends on it. He must then participate in the family life going on around

him. What the family counts important for him, he must take account of, his helplessness insures it. The family's values become his values. The joint effects of opportunity offered and of approval bestowed or withheld are well-nigh irresistible to the growing child. His learning thus follows the family pattern. As he grows older, similar learning of a larger pattern is continually repeated in larger community situations. To share in what seems the supremely important things going on in community life, to find opportunities thus opened up for expanding personal powers, to feel the approval of others and of self in worthy work well done—these are the social processes that result in the learner's acceptance of the group ways and standards as his ways and his standards. And having once accepted them, they grow the stronger in him as he in turn upholds them before those who are younger than he. Anyone who has seen the insistence of a three-year-old on his chance-learned variant of a nursery rhyme can understand somewhat of the insistence of tribe members upon their peculiar tribal ways. Anything else is to them simply unthinkable. How anything different can be learned, we shall later consider. But meanwhile the rule holds. The child learns the group ways. Outwardly he behaves in the fashion upheld by the group culture. Inwardly, he thinks the group thoughts, feels the group values, accepts the group standards, and thus becomes the group-type person. His very self is built on the group model—and he approves. If willing be not too strong a term to use, he wills it so.

INDIVIDUAL RESISTANCE TO THE CULTURE

What has just been said does not mean that any known culture is so wisely and so consistently built as to cause no individual resistance to its appropriation. A certain culture may have been built to satisfy its adult men with the result that

its women and children are more or less sacrificed or exploited to this male cultural model. Or again, the folkways may prove hard to learn, or may be inconsistent, having taught one way for a certain age and then requiring a contrary way later. Among us it is rather probable that the baby is at times compulsively adjusted too early to adult conventions, as is brought out in the chapter on "The Growth Process." In such cases what we call personality maladjustment may easily result. Habits set up in obedience to one set of demands conflict with habits of another set. The individual is torn within, unhappy, and emotionally unstable.

It is of course true that normal child "nature" is very adaptable. Within wide limits it will adjust itself without conscious dissatisfaction to the difficult external demands. How this is true may be seen in certain reversals. When "women's rights" began to be preached in this country and Great Britain, it was oftentimes the women who most objected. Queen Victoria in 1870 thus spoke of "this mad, wicked folly of 'Woman's Rights'" and thought that Lady Blank who had been advocating such "ought to get a *good whipping*" (italics hers), and concluded, "It is a subject which makes the Queen so furious that she cannot *contain* herself" ¹

The Queen in keeping with most women of the time had accepted, possibly with an apprehensive sense of instability in the matter, the inferior status of women in the masculine scheme. Once the new rights had been established, the former unstable equilibrium becomes clearer.

It is perhaps in connection with internal resistances that individuality is most truly built, individuality in the sense that the self knows its will, knows why, and will insist within limits upon its way. The words, "within limits," perhaps tell the story best. Individuality is not mere stubborn insistence, at

¹ Lytton Strachey, *Queen Victoria* (New York, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1924), p. 299

least not individuality of the better kind. The better kind is conscious of its own wishes but is also conscious of proper limits and what is involved in both. Building one's individuality in this better sense may well begin at the mother's breast, for instance, to stop feeding when one has enough. Wherever there is outside pressure and inner opposition, there is opportunity for intelligent individuality to build itself further into being. The process is unending.

The present book is no place to pursue a very interesting inquiry implicit in the foregoing. Certainly some cultures seem better than others to answer to human needs. The question is as to how far "nature" furnishes the basis for this in what we used to call "instinctive wants." Somewhere, but not here, men must study what constitutes the good life, how deeply if at all this is fixed by "nature," and what therefore are the resulting criteria for judging cultures.

UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF THE CULTURE

It must not be inferred from the foregoing that the group culture is necessarily or even generally distributed evenly throughout the group. The simpler the type of culture and the more restricted the area-habitat, the more nearly will the group culture be held alike by all of like age and like sex within the group. But for modern peoples in civilized countries the facts are far otherwise. Differences in wealth and in more or less hereditary family status, differences in regional sub-cultures—all these indicate wide differences in opportunity and encouragement with resulting correlative differences of culture appropriation. For example, the doctrine of evolution is very differently held by variant sub-groups in this country—from an extreme at one end of those who would be astonished and perhaps ashamed that any should question their acceptance of the general position and outlook through a wide

distribution to an opposite extreme of others who would indignantly deny any sympathy at all with the doctrine. Similarly, we have the vast majority who think of buttons as possibly the least controversial matter imaginable in a quarrelsome world, while at the same time we have a remnant, holding to an earlier attitude, who reject buttons in favor of hooks-and-eyes as being somehow more pleasing to God. In like manner, our country shows many variations in the kinds of English spoken, in the standards of social cultivation upheld, in attitude toward superstitions, in political ideals, and in religions preferred. Finally, in addition to all the differences like those just indicated, there always remain individual differences. In fact, no two mature individuals in the total group hold the culture exactly alike. These general facts of the unequal distribution of the culture set, as we shall later see, a very significant problem for any school system that accepts seriously its social task.

CULTURAL MOLDING NOT AN IMPOSITION

What has just been said about building individuality upon the successive instances of internal resistance to external demands is not to be understood as implying that the general process of the cultural molding of the child is such a process of imposition upon an otherwise complete person and self as takes place when a conquering nation, say, attempts to force its culture upon the mature members of the conquered group. This process of molding childhood into the home group model is far different. Imposition in any full sense implies set opposition. In such case there is, first, the presence of an opposing person who knows what is proposed, objects that it is proposed, and attempts at least inwardly to resist imposition. There is, second, the imposer who means to go ahead in spite of the opposition. While the child may object to feeding fur-

ther when he is full, this does not mean that he objects either to the feeding process as a whole or to the food as offered. While there will be instances of resistance to this or that feature of the culture, on the whole—as said above—the child wills his participation in the surrounding group as far and as fast as he builds a self capable of choosing. Individual choice is, to be sure, built up partly in the instances of resistance, but more frequently in the instances of deciding which alternative will best serve and then sticking to his choice in spite of the difficulties inherent in the path. Indeed a wholesome self, a wholesome chooser, is built out of resistances only as these are “digested,” so to speak, into a personality that sees defensible reasons for its course.

It is by this process of entering freely and zealously into the life about him that the child becomes a self, a personality. While he may from time to time resist the adults with whom he associates, this will more usually come from their mistaken zeal in pushing things upon him for which he is not yet ready. In so far as his elders act wisely, they supply absolutely essential means of building his selfhood. Without the help and presence of these others about him, without their language, their distinctions, their standards, their effective institutions, without their active embodiment of these in the common social process, without the opportunity thus offered him to share increasingly in their surrounding social life—without all these, the child had never become in any true sense a choosing self or personality. So that the culture is not to be thought of as imposed from without upon an already formed personality. Rather does the culture furnish the opportunity and stuff out of which the personality is initially formed. What thus enters initially into selfhood is integral with that selfhood, part and parcel of its very essence, very self of very self—at time in fact dearer than life itself. In this fashion is the individual built.

FURTHER MOLDING BY THE CULTURE

It would be a mistake to suppose that the molding influence of the culture is limited to childhood and youth. Actual influencing continues throughout life, but largely upon the earlier foundations. We wish now to trace the continued selective effect of the early molding.

In a complex civilization such as ours the culture will offer many opportunities and among them some that exclude others. As James said, "Not that I would not, if I could, be both handsome and fat, and well dressed, and a great athlete, and make a million a year, be a wit, a *bon-vivant*, and a lady-killer, as well as philosopher, a philanthropist, statesman, warrior, and African explorer, as well as 'tone poet' and saint. *But the thing is impossible.*"¹ So one makes choices that in their turn determine other choices.

Each person then is always being molded along two lines, one more or less in common with others in his group, by which he becomes Chinese or French or American as the case may be, the other within the group by which he becomes a business man or artist or policeman, a radical or conservative, a mystic or realist, interested in travel or in athletics or in philanthropy, a collector of old books or of stamps or of antiques, a lover of books or hating reading. Whatever the specific line one may adopt, that line becomes thereafter a selective agency to determine what he will see in preference to other things, what he will value, what he will pursue. And each such succeeding choice of thing to see and value and do fastens him the more definitely along that line. Few are capable of transcending their choices so as to see themselves as others see them, and still fewer to act upon what they see.

¹ William James, *Principles of Psychology* (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1890), Vol. I, p. 309.

Now it is the culture that prior to the individual offered these several opportunities and no others, that fixed the character of each of the several lines. The choices within any one culture are always different from the choices in another culture, and nothing is much stronger in its pressure upon one than the demands of one's own chosen line. One thus becomes what one has chosen to be, but always within the available framework of the cultural offering. In this way is individuality built within the cultural pattern.

What was said earlier about possible individual resentments belongs also here to correct possible misunderstandings at this point. It must not be supposed that the formation of the social-model self is never attended by tensions and tears. The evidence is too strong to the contrary. Too many of us know personally of what seems like a natural aversion on the part of small boys to clean hands. Even uniform practice need not mean complete internal acceptance. It is said that in the first frenzy of the Russian Revolution Jewish boys and girls signaled their new freedom by displaying hams in the synagogue, while nearer home to us women's sudden conversion to smoking and the display by girls of shorts and one-piece bathing suits may carry analogous implications.

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CULTURAL ORIGIN OF "RACIAL" CHARACTERISTICS

It is hardly to be doubted that it is by this process of cultural molding that there have been built the diversity of "racial" and nationalist types whose opposed characteristics so impress the reader and traveler, French, German, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, British, native African as the case may be. Many, perhaps most, seeing these differences, have been so impressed with their deep pervasiveness as to imagine them innate in origin, the outworking of some biologically hereditary national

soul. But cold science points otherwise. In spite of Nazi assertion we must deny to German or Jew, Nordic, Aryan, short head or long head, white skin or black skin, French or Japanese, any peculiar racial endowment that determines the characteristics we see. Outward physical features, to be sure, differ from group to group, as size, coloration, hair structure, also will qualities of ability and aptitude differ natively from individual to individual within any group. But so far no discriminating study has proved racial differences of ability or aptitude. In fact, the closer the study, the less basis does there appear on the whole for looking to heredity to explain group trait differences. More and more does it appear that the culture is the source and cause of the taste and behavior difference that we find among peoples.

CULTURAL CONFLICTS AND INDIVIDUAL MALADJUSTMENT

As already more than once suggested, modern civilizations show cultural inconsistencies, the result as we shall later see of cultural lag. Where such inconsistencies are pronounced, the individuals of the group are likely to suffer. Cultural inconsistencies mean opposed and contradictory behavior demands. Religious considerations, for example, demand that each seek his neighbor's good, while competitive business demands that each seek his own good if need be at the expense of others. The individual living the culture will thus contain within himself inconsistent and contradictory ideas and attitudes. Being so built, he feels contradictory impulses as he is stirred now by this or by that contradictory side or phase of life. Much individual emotional strain thus results with consequent personality difficulties. How maladjustments follow a distraught culture and what education should do about such matters are very important problems taken up elsewhere in this book.

CONSCIOUS MODIFICATION OF THE GROUP CULTURE

We come now to certain prime questions which strategically underlie the problem both of democratic education and of conscious social change. First, is the individual fatalistically bound to the cultural model? If, as we must admit, the child has no say as to the group into which he is to be born, and if, as we have likewise seen, the culture molds the growing child to its model, then the question arises as to whether there is any escape from a socially predestined group character and outlook. If there be no escape from this fate, why talk about democratic education to result in intelligent self-direction? Education would seem shut up to being indoctrination, indoctrination of the group culture, that and nothing else.

And, second, if the group culture thus molds the group members to its model so that they think the group thoughts and accept its attitudes, the further question arises as to how any group once given a distinctive cultural model can ever change it into anything else. Can thinking change the culture, or can chance alone? In fact, unless something additional to the foregoing considerations can be brought to bear on the problem there would seem no possible change. The eternally self-perpetuating character of the group model would seem assured.

The answer to these questions, if they can be found, must indicate the lines of advance for a democratic system of education and a democratic effort at social improvement.

Is it possible for any group by taking thought to bring its culture to a new model? And if yes, how? These are possibly the most important questions of our day. According as the world actually answers them, so will history be made for the coming epoch.

The answer to the questions raised seems to lie in the words "by taking thought." There was once a time in history when

it appeared impossible to take thought regarding the culture. Boaz tells us that early man went for 30,000 years without changing his stone implements. It is hardly probable that men spent much of their time during those long centuries bemoaning the fact that while they could see the inadequacy of their existing tools and would ask questions about improving them, they knew no way to answer their questions. It seems far more likely that they did not see the inadequacy and did not ask the questions, or if any did so ask, probably the others thought them but idle questions, fitter to be disregarded than troubled about.

It was the Greeks who, so far as we know, first learned how to ask pointed questions about the culture, and their consequent contribution to the world has been great beyond words to express. We are, of course, not to suppose that man went from the Stone Age to the time of Athens with no additions to the culture. On the contrary, various nations had found many useful processes and conceived highly significant conceptions, and mankind had benefited. But conscious questioning, or perhaps better the self-conscious questioning of the culture, that, it appears, waited for the Greeks.

It came about apparently in this way. When history rises, the Greeks had moved down into the islands and peninsulas where Europe and Asia Minor came together. A few had settled the Asiatic coast, more stayed in Europe. They had their common culture, but they held it uncritically. They were conscious of their religious festivals, for example, and of what was right in connection and what was wrong, but they had never known how other customs differed exactly, nor had they seriously asked which was right, or why, and still less had they asked what is it to be right, and what makes one thing right and something else wrong. Their traditional culture told them what to do, and that sufficed. So stood the Greeks when history dawned.

But that state of simplicity could not last. Those Greeks who lived in Asia could not but learn of the different folkways of their Asiatic neighbors. Neither the two peoples nor their cultures would stay quite separate, and contrasting customs would raise questions. But still further, the soil of Greece was thin, it soon failed to meet population demands. Some adventurous ones took to the sea in ships and traded with distant nations. Certain cities sent out colonies to sparsely occupied lands. The seafarers brought back reports of the strange lands and customs they had seen. The colonists both saw other customs and were forced by differing conditions to adapt their original culture to the new conditions. This forced them to think about what changes it were wise to make. And keeping in touch with their mother cities (whence our word *metropolis*), these modified and contrasting ways were duly reported back home. Students and teachers went back and forth. Meanwhile came the Persian Wars in which Greece for two generations was threatened to be swallowed up in the Persian Empire.

All of these foreign contacts and strange contrasts, especially as motivated by the threats, awakened the Greeks to a new consciousness of themselves, to a self-conscious criticism not only of their own culture, but of culture and life and thought in general. Why do the ways of people so differ? Which is right? What does right mean? What does it mean to ask about right and wrong? Are rightness and wrongness anything more than the accidents of different history? Or are there underlying reasons to make some things right and others wrong? And if so, what are these underlying facts or considerations?

Thus was born to the world a new capacity to engage in conscious and critical questioning. Herodotus who wrote most and best of differing cultures was given a great prize of money for his writings by the appreciative Athenians. It is

significant that he like every great teacher of that day was born outside of Greece proper and in close contact with other cultures, so potent were the contrasts to stir thought. The conscious criticism thus stirred to life was put into the culture. Plato and Aristotle formulated it best. Men began to live it. The schools taught it. The Greeks later carried it to Alexandria, to Damascus, to Rome. When Christianity arose, the new doctrines were formulated by Greek-taught scholars in terms of neo-Platonism. Long years later, they were reformulated and given to the western world in Aristotle's terminology. When Rome conquered the world, Greek thought conquered the Empire, and Stoic doctrine appeared as Roman law. Greek criticism and Greek conceptions thus by many avenues entered western culture. We are the result.

The next most important addition to western culture and so to the world is the movement called modern science. Springing to be sure from Greek roots, science after a thousand years of wandering in the wilderness took on new life. Specifically, men began in a new conscious fashion to decide what to think and do by the way their ideas would work out when put to the crucial test of observation or experiment. Before this, in doctrinal matters men mostly followed either authority as of the church or of Aristotle, or logical deductions after the manner of Euclid from "self-evident" propositions, or more usually a combination of authority and deduction. The break is perhaps clearest seen in Galileo. Whether the story of dropping balls from the Pisan tower be history or only myth, it is still psychologically and logically true. From a preliminary study, Galileo formulated his hypotheses as to how bodies do fall and put these hypotheses to the crucial test of observation and experiment. And this is the essence of scientific method. On this foundation Newton built his *Principia*, on the same foundation Michelson and Einstein overthrew the *Principia*—successive victories for the same method.

Thus it is that the fatalistic control of the culture over its own future has been broken. Before men had achieved the ability and disposition to question critically, they were in effect bound to what already was. Chance might throw new facts before their eyes, but men had no assured conscious method of study. Man's greatest change in himself, at least in historic times, has been the building of self-conscious criticism. Man's greatest invention is the method of conscious invention. The modern individual if favored by intelligence and opportunity is practically forced, partly by the contrasts and contradictions within our civilization, partly by the accumulated questions, attitudes, and techniques of the culture, to rise above the automatic dominance of any received culture into such a criticism of that culture as frees him, in some measure at least, to shape his own thought outlook and his own action pattern. Thus it is that the culture now contains within itself the available means of escaping from its automatic control. The individual can be free, but his freedom must be achieved. He must himself achieve it, but others can help. The new culture is essential. Teaching is nearly so.

INDIVIDUAL CREATION AND FREEDOM

At this point the question of individual creation naturally arises. Is human creation a fact? If yes, is it the gift of the gods or may one build it up in himself? Has the culture anything to do with the matter? That creation is in some sense a fact cannot be denied. Before our very eyes new ideas and new contrivances do arise, and the sweep of history more abundantly confirms. Moreover, a particular man will seem in a true sense the source of a specific idea—Newton, for example, of the identity of earth's gravitation with the movements of the planets, and Einstein of relativity. Often two or more men "originate" the same idea about the same time but inde-

pendently of each other, as Newton and Leibnitz the calculus, and Darwin and Wallace the doctrine of evolution by natural selection. Such multiple creation suggests a clue.

As already discussed, the culture grows by accumulation and this, of course, not simply by addition but as well by cross-fertilization of part with part. At any one time new ideas will have been introduced that need only to be brought together to suggest, to the competent, still newer ideas. The process is unending and moreover is itself cumulative. That is, the more we know, the more problems we shall have, and the more numerous and significant probably will be the advances made. And history bears it out. We saw above the 30,000 years of early man with no significant change in his stone implements. Within historic times, up to say 1800, the rate of discovery and invention was very much more rapid than during these 30,000 years, and since 1800 very, very much more rapid even than that rapid rate. These figures prove,—the word is not too strong,—that man's power to do new thinking increases with its own achievements and in geometrical ratio. If we take as our definition of intelligence the superior ability to discover and invent, we can say that the cumulative growth of the culture, qualitatively and quantitatively, means the cumulative creation of intelligence available upon demand for all competent to take it.

The use of the word *competent* in the preceding paragraph refers to what is ordinarily called "native ability." We should hasten to add that according to the best received opinion—with no significant dissent—native ability has not appreciably improved since the Stone Age. Children are born now no more able to learn, no more creative, than then. It is the cultural accumulation that explains the difference. Those among us fortunate enough to learn what the culture now holds in store can therein become vastly more creative than were their Stone-Age ancestors or even their eighteenth-century fore-

fathers. It is this potentiality inherent in the culture that justifies the definition that the culture is communicable intelligence. It should be added that we have not built intelligence equally along all lines. So far we have done better in the natural science realm than elsewhere. But there seems no reason to doubt that by taking appropriate thought we can build all analogous increase of intelligence along any other desired line.

We can now return to the question of individual creation. Each person, any person, who contrives a response new to him with which to meet a situation that he feels, is in so far creative. The more creative a man is, the freer he is, and this in two senses. First, he is freer in that he can control the confronting difficult situations rather than be controlled or bound by them. This we may call practical freedom. Second, he is freer in that he creates his own life more from within his own resources rather than being compelled to think and act simply as the hitherto existing culture has built into the behavior of the mass. He rises creatively above the mass who think and act simply as the group model has had it. This is creative-personality freedom.

It may finally be added to avoid misunderstanding that while the terms *intelligence* and *building intelligence* have figured prominently in the foregoing discussion, this is not to be taken as meaning that we have been concerned with "pure intellect" to the exclusion of creation where other aspects of personality as emotion and imagination, for example, are involved. So far as appears, creation can and does go on in any and every kind of human experience. Each experience, of course, as Chapter XIII brings out, always involves the whole organism, with thinking, feeling, impulse, bodily action, glandular action, each always present in greater or less degree. Any actual creative act therefore involves all aspects of personality and must be so understood, though any one creative

act may lie primarily in the intellectual realm, as for instance Newton's contributions referred to above, or it may lie primarily in some esthetic field as painting or architecture. So much for the creative freedom of the human individual.

GROUP CONTROL OVER THE GROUP CULTURE

The next question is as to the group. Can any large cultural group by taking thought achieve the determination of its own cultural development? To this question the "theoretical" answer clearly seems yes. If the group will, it can. But what about the will? Most of the members of any now existing social group have not gone far toward achieving the individual freedom discussed in the preceding. Many, if not most, among us are still largely bound by the culture as we have uncritically accepted it. This seems not so much a matter of opportunity for amount of schooling as it does a matter partly of the different kinds of education that privilege or its lack entails, and partly of the different kinds of conscious education that schools can withhold or give. Privilege taken by itself tends to bind one to those ways of thinking and acting that support and maintain the status quo. On the other hand, apparent injustice, so felt by any one in his own life, makes it easier for questions to arise regarding the status quo, whether it were not better changed. Good conscious teaching can help overcome the indoctrination of the status quo, as it can make more intelligent the questioning of those who suffer injustice. Possibly the middle group who suffer less but still feel insecurity may, if adequately led to think, prove the deciding ones to determine what the group will do.

We may restate the foregoing by saying the essential question is whether intelligence is to be given free play in social affairs, free play to find what to do, free play to devise new

plans of action as these may prove necessary and put them into effect. If most of our people are largely bound by uncriticized ideas, the practical question becomes one of education, education of a kind that frees people from the tyranny of mere tradition into the ability and disposition to weigh and judge and act on merits. Of course no formal discipline is possible here. If the education is to serve in matters of social change, it must deal with matters pertinent to such change. Also it may be that we lack as yet some essential conceptions and distinctions with which to attack our problems. If so, then we must look to the most capable among us by continual study to contrive the needed ideas and distinction as we discussed above in the general building of intelligence, specifically as we did two generations ago for dealing practically with electricity. This, too, is a matter of education but of a more creative kind.

Education then faces in this problem at least two tasks, the one primarily of higher education to devise new thoughts and make them available, the other primarily of adult education and non-higher education in general to build intelligence among the people—adult education to work among those now in the thick of active life, the ordinary schools and colleges to work within the rising generation. That all such educational effort must be free to follow all possibly worthwhile leads, however new or radical, follows as an immediate corollary else we may miss some now unseen golden opportunity. To refuse in advance to study any possible line is simply to agree in advance to be by just that much ignorant and possibly stupid. In such ways education becomes truly social. It then is simply and exactly society taking into its own hands the enterprise of becoming intelligent about its own future. We must trust what intelligence we now have to tell us how to find a better intelligence to act upon. We must agree in advance to give to intelligence its own free play.

CULTURAL LAG AND ITS RESULTING PROBLEMS

Any adequate civilization must have a more or less balanced culture, part fitting with part to form an effective whole, so as to care for all the varied essential aspects of group life. If anything should happen to change certain parts of such a balanced culture, while the other parts remained relatively unchanged, the resulting unbalance would introduce strains into the social whole with corresponding social problems.

Such a state of affairs where, in a changing civilization, certain essential parts of the culture lag behind others, is called cultural lag.

That any unsolved social problem entails its load of threat and danger for the social group to carry needs but to be stated. The more such unsolved problems, the greater the load. Any national group, depending upon its hitherto achieved attitudes and its practice and skill in solving social problems, has its upper limit to the load of unsolved problems that it can carry. Beyond that it must expect to break. It appears that the nations used to parliamentary procedure and democratic processes in general can carry a heavier load than can nations not so practiced. Every nation that now has a dictatorship had previously had but limited experience in democracy processes. No nation of extended experience in democracy has as yet succumbed to dictatorship.

Our country is among those that have had extensive practice in democratic processes, but it now carries a great load of unsolved social problems. Moreover the rate of social change seems certainly accelerating, and the cultural lag of unadjusted institutions and inadequate social thinking will therefore increase unless we can show better success than recently in coping with our unsolved social problems. We too can reach the limit of the load we can carry.

The matter has an individual bearing as well. The greater

the number and intensity of the outstanding unsolved social problems, the greater the emotional strain upon the members of the group. Not all will feel the strain equally, but some grow up emotionally unstable and maladjusted because the strain was too great for them to carry. This is a very present trouble with us now.

The foregoing considerations of the mounting load of unsolved social problems and of the personal emotional strain from social stresses constitute demands on the school that cannot be disregarded. Every curriculum-maker must take them crucially into account.

The threat from these two constitute the negative side of the problem of the culture. The positive side is the possibility suggested above that any group can, if it will but give the necessary time and effort to the task, consciously build such social intelligence as will guide the development of its culture into a more adequate content. It is these considerations that the study of the culture offers to the school to light its way as it seeks to educate the individual child and the nation for a fuller realization of the more abundant life.

Chapter XII

THE GROWTH PROCESS¹



WHAT IS GROWTH?

The child grows up by learning to satisfy his emotional needs in acceptable ways, and his personality at any given stage of his development is the sum total of the satisfying ways he finds to adjust his biological inheritance to his circumstances. Those who guide and educate him have the responsibility of determining the range of acceptable behavior, of offering him opportunities for satisfaction that are consonant with the demands of the group in which he lives and that are likely to further such development that he may later find satisfactions acceptable to the larger society of which he will be a part as an adult.

At first it is almost exclusively his mother whose demands, attitudes, and expectations present some opportunities for satisfaction and disapprove or withhold others. But even she, in her intimate relationship with him, to a greater or less degree represents the group to which both belong. She, too, in her adult way is satisfying emotional needs in all that she says and does with her baby. But their form and the manner in which she gives expression to them depend in part upon what she believes is right and wrong, what she thinks she ought to do for her baby, what she expects of him, how she believes he should be developing. For she knows that as his parent she carries a large share of responsibility for rearing him in such a way that he will grow up right. And her concept of what is

¹ This chapter was written by Caroline B. Zachry.

right for him as a baby and what should be her goals for him, if she has goals, is the concept of society as she sees it. Her collection of values is made up of beliefs which she has absorbed from among those represented in her intimate and remoter groups. It is not wholly like the view held by any other individual with whom she has been in touch, for she does her own choosing and adapting, whether consciously or not, whether reasonably or blindly. In the life-long process of satisfying her own needs in ways acceptable to the society in which she lives, she receives and rejects values from that society, she modifies and perhaps even contributes.

Thus "what people think" is of crucial importance to the child from his earliest years. At first he learns this from his mother, from his father as he turns to him, from the nursery-school teacher as organized society begins to take a hand in his development, in the childhood years when he is avoiding adult influence, of his companions, the "gang", and in adolescence from his chum, from the adult whom he idolizes, from his sweetheart.

What are the emotional needs for which the child is always seeking satisfaction? It should perhaps be said that the term *emotional needs* is here used to mean the individual's current, prevailing wishes, desires, longings, whose objects are the values he holds most dear. Thus it is said, "This child needs love." As in the case of those other needs of his which are objectively determined (as when it is said, "This child needs exercise," although the child may or may not wish it), their goals constitute the requirement for transforming the present condition to one that is desired, but in the case of the emotional need it is the individual himself who first of all longs for that condition. This is so even though he may not be aware of his motivations, nor able to identify their objects nor to recognize nor use the best means of achieving fulfillment. Those who deal with the child must recognize his emo-

tional needs, must espouse them for him. If they would help him in his emotional adjustment, they must guide him toward means of fulfilment which are both satisfying to him and acceptable to society.

In our society two emotional needs are basic. the need to achieve and the need for affection and social security. It is evident that, primary as they are, even these are in part culturally derived. They arise from his efforts to adjust his biological inheritance to the expectations of those around him. Both are postulated on the presence and the importance of other people, and the first is reinforced by the particular kind of demands and expectations which those others have for the young.

Often, indeed, the child seeks "to achieve" as one means of attaining security-in-affection. Our society is one which places a particularly high value on achievement,¹ and this is one of a child's ways of finding himself and the status for that self.

Thus in their relationships with one another both mother and child, and to a lesser degree teacher and child, are satisfying emotional needs within socially derived limitations, and in these relationships the child learns which means of satisfaction are acceptable and which are not tolerated. The mother—or the teacher—sets standards for him in accordance with a view of life which is her personal selection and interpretation of the culture, unique but similar to the views of the others in her group.

The adult who respects the personality of the child helps him to grow in ways that are appropriate to him at his stage of development. She does not impose on him expectations that arise from emotional needs of her own if these are in conflict with his needs, giving him the love that he requires without tying him too close to her. The child grows through the inter-

¹ "What does he *do*?" is usually the first question asked for identification of a stranger.

action of his efforts to satisfy his needs and the parental-social sanctions.

STAGES OF GROWTH

In the course of his development from infancy to adulthood, the child experiences different phases of adjustment at successive periods, and since each of these phases has manifestations which are broadly characteristic of a given period, it is described as a stage or level. If the child's emotional needs find satisfaction in acceptable ways and he is well physically, he will pass through the three great stages of human development—infancy, childhood, and adolescence—and mature into a healthy, stable member of society.

This is a fundamental fact of the highest importance to education, and it cannot be emphasized too strongly, but two qualifying considerations must always be borne in mind. The first is that since the child's basic needs are dynamic, development varies with the individual. As he grows, he enlarges his contacts, starting each time from the basis of security and satisfaction attained. When he meets a difficulty in his adjustment, he tries out various ways of behaving and adopts that pattern of behavior which proves most satisfying to him. But if he meets obstacles that are or seem to be insurmountable, he turns back to the old familiar ways in which he was successful in attaining satisfaction. All aspects of the personality seldom advance simultaneously, it is normal that growth be uneven, that it lag here and advance there. The second qualifying consideration is that there are no sharp distinctions between the phases of growth. As the child gains an ever-widening field for the satisfaction of his two basic emotional needs, these phases merge into one another. Indeed, something of every stage is left in the mature adult.

It is essential that teachers and parents understand how the development of personality takes place at each of these levels

if they are to help the child handle the problems of any level most constructively. To be thoroughly understood, any given period of social development must be viewed in relation to what has gone before and what will come after. To understand the social maturation of the child at the time of his entrance into the elementary school, we must understand his infancy and his nursery-school age. And to appreciate his behavior during the terms of the secondary school and to give him intelligent help in handling his social development, we must bear in mind how he is likely to act during later adolescence and in adulthood.

We must be keen to recognize the various stages of development so that we shall not push the child into social behavior and social interests which are quite literally beyond him, nor ask him to face problems beyond his level of social and emotional growth. His social behavior must be fundamentally adjusted to his level. At one level teachers and parents must not expect or try to induce behavior which is appropriate to a more mature level, for this is to demand a more rapid growth than the child can manage harmoniously in a thoroughgoing way. If he is placed in such situations or under such pressure, he is unable to realize to the full each stage of his development, he cannot attain the full measure of success and satisfaction necessary to his progress, he is forced into regressions here and there along the line. In a more or less vague way, this fact is generally recognized, and standards of social expectation vary with the child's age, but they do not vary nearly enough. Many parents and teachers tend to force the child to conform to standards of behavior that are actually appropriate for an older child, to conform to adult convenience more than is reasonable to demand in view of his problem of growth. Too often adults look ahead for the child, living in his future rather than in his present. Although he is in a stage of becoming, this is also a state of being and must

be dealt with as such if it is to lead to the fullest further development. It is easy to understand why we tend to push the child. We do this partly because of our wishful pride in and hope for him, partly because of our urgency to help him to become a social being. It is an example of an emotional need of the parent or teacher which must be adjusted to the need of the child.

In the following discussion of development through its major stages, no attempt is made to show a strictly progressive order of growth, since certain aspects occur simultaneously and individuals differ widely.

I INFANCY AND THE NURSERY-SCHOOL AGE

Ways of Growth and Adjustment

For the infant, emotional satisfaction consists in experiencing pleasurable physical sensation—the heightening of tension, its release, and relaxation. He clearly shows the pleasure he experiences in the satisfaction of warmth, cuddling, sucking, exciting, stretching, kicking. Or he cries at too great tension, at hunger, at coldness.

His first realization of himself as a person dawns when he recognizes another person, his parent or his nurse, as a source of his gratification, and his response to her is expressed by kicking, crouching, smiling, and crying when he is put down. The baby's first love is himself. He is completely self-centered, and as he discovers his body and realizes that its parts are his, his feeling of self is strengthened. In thumb-sucking, muscular movements, masturbation, and excitement we see evidences of the pleasure that recognition of himself through his body and the use of his body give him. He has no sense of shame in indulging in these activities, he enjoys them fully.

But soon the infant's love turns to the parent or nurse who gratifies his desires, and we see the beginnings of affectionate

behavior directed toward an adult. As he adds his awareness of definite desires and needs to his earliest realization of himself as an individual, he demands cuddling, caressing, and comforting attention. When he reaches nursery school, he makes this consciousness of his needs very explicit in his behavior. His emphasis is on "me," "my," "mine"; in his conversation he stresses *my* mama, *my* papa, *my* doggie, *my* house. He grabs things for himself and tends to be imperious in his demands. "I want this," he says.

At the same time he is also beginning to learn restraint and self-control and to take pleasure in his success in this new achievement. He is developing a sense of right and wrong. This satisfaction, too, heightens the child's feeling of himself as a person and rightfully gives him a sense of power. Thus his further development as an individual is satisfactorily attained through the establishment of toilet habits, the mastery of certain techniques, the knowledge of what not to touch. He also takes prideful pleasure in occasionally giving up things to parents and other individuals whom he needs and loves.

He has a growing consciousness of dependency on his parents for security, and he continually reestablishes this sense of security in their affection by eliciting more and more demonstrations of their love and approval. In a normal family situation he turns to his parents for comfort and for strength. He turns to them for wisdom, believing that they know all that there is to know. He takes pride in his parents—they are his—and he likes to imitate their attitudes and behavior. He wishes, by possessing them, to identify himself with something greater than he.

His growing discovery of, and intense interest in, himself stimulate curiosity in the world of things and people around him. His contacts with others and his interest in them broaden; as this field of his emotional expression expands, he acquires increasing opportunities for satisfaction of his affectional and

ego needs. His concept of the world about him is symbolic and fanciful, he freely and naively expresses his interest, relating all to himself. Now he plays equally well with a child of either sex, but he is selfish, demanding, and dominating. An interest in group play emerges as he finds it satisfying to bestow toys and favors on others. With added satisfactions, curiosity about the new and the partially known grows. He is in the *why* stage, which is recognized by all who deal with the young child. It is not necessarily because he wants to know that he asks. Indeed, in many instances he thinks he already knows the answer. He asks because he wants confirmation from the adult, who is important to him. He is reestablishing his sense of security as he grows into new knowledge.

Emotional-Cultural Pressures

This early stage of emotional and social development requires very understanding treatment by adults—by the parent or nurse, whose rôle at first is exclusive and throughout this period is paramount, and by the nursery-school teacher who is adopted as a temporary parent substitute. They are themselves subject to many different pressures from within and from outside themselves, and these influence their expectations of the child and their attitudes toward him.

In contrast to the child loved by parents who have attained a comfortable degree of maturity are, first, the child who is over-loved by disturbed and neurotic parents, so that he is not left free to grow away from parental protection, and, second, the child who does not feel safe because he has never had enough affection or to whom affection has been given in spasmodic form fluctuating from intense over-love to apparent or real indifference. Such children experience serious difficulty to make later adjustments when they are confronted with pressures.

It is essential to the child's fullest growth that he be ac-

cepted as he is by the adult, who is necessary to him. If she has attained a fair degree of maturity she is able to accept the baby's ways as his at this stage of his development.

Modesty, for example, has a high value in our society, and although this standard is undergoing modification, it pretty generally holds that in adult society many aspects of the body are politely ignored in conversation, in the press, and over the radio. Conflict on this point varies with the social and emotional adjustment of the adult. A parent who accepts bodily functions in the normal course of events accepts the baby's behavior toward his body without shock. But no matter what the mother may believe is a right or a wrong attitude for an older child to have toward his body, if she is mature and understanding she accepts the importance to her baby in his development that he come to recognize himself as a person in the way that is open to him at this stage—that is, by his interest in his body, his desire to play with it and ask questions about it and to show satisfaction in it. His self-centeredness and his exhibitionistic behavior must not be judged by standards for children who have outgrown this phase, instead they must be accepted as normal means of his growing up. If she deals with him frankly and without imposition of her own authority through this phase of his development, she is helping to minimize the strain that will attend the reawakening of sexual sensations in adolescence.

Self-reliance is another attitude we Americans tend to hold in high esteem, but those who deal with children in the nursery school will better meet the toddler's needs for growth if they are emotionally free to accept his dependence on them, if they respond to his wish to make them parent substitutes and to look to them for security and for demonstration of affection, always bearing in mind that as a result of the security so given, the child should grow up—not remain emotionally dependent.

The tendency in many nursery schools to rush the child into emotional self-reliance too quickly is as devastating to his later development as is the tendency to keep him a baby too long. For example, the establishment of toilet habits and of self-feeding have deep emotional significance to the child. Too great insistence that such skills be learned rapidly creates dangerous tensions, this is one form of exploitation of children.

Emotional dependence may be manifested also in the child's questioning. During this period, it is essential that parents and teachers consider the source of a child's questions and, especially when he asks in order to elicit confirmation, give him the reassurance which he needs, in a tone and manner that will not discourage the asking of further questions.

Since the rôle of the parents is so important in this early period of social adjustment, it is unfortunate that the young child sees so little of his father. For the girl, especially, contact with her father is important at this stage. Observation of the development of children and study of the adult indicate that the boy has a slightly better prospect for later social adjustment because his first love object, usually his mother, is a member of the opposite sex. But the girl has in her mother a member of her own sex as her first love object, and in our society the girl's first contacts with her father usually are postponed too long. If her later adjustment is to be healthy, she must make the transition to her father at an early age. The boy takes his father as a masculine ideal, and it is of tremendous importance to him also that he establish a relationship with his father at an early age.

It is a serious loss to both boys and girls that they are, in our culture, customarily deprived of adequate father relationships both at home and at school. The commuting family, virtually a matriarchy, is merely an extreme form of a prevailing pattern in parent-child relationships. The atmosphere of

schools for the young child is overwhelmingly feminine. Men teachers are found in many secondary schools, but there are few in elementary classrooms. Little children as well as adolescents need both men and women teachers.

II. CHILDHOOD

Ways of Growth and Adjustment

Every stage of development holds its residue of former stages, and boys and girls emerge from nursery to childhood years at somewhat different ages and with differing behavior patterns.

In both babyhood and adolescence the child clearly shows an intensity of feeling and unmistakably expresses his need for the attention and sympathy of older people. In the childhood years which lie between there is less ground for sympathetic understanding between the child and the adult than at any other period in life. The complete and appealing dependence of babyhood is gone, the intensity of feeling seems to be lacking. Also, during this period developmental changes are not so striking, and this may be caused in part by the fact that the child is not showing himself to older people so much as he did but is trying to live a life of his own. He seems to have few needs for the adults upon whom he relied as a baby, and few problems in common with them such as he will have in adolescence when he is emerging into a responsible rôle in adult society. He not only expresses little need for grown persons; he tends to scorn their concerns and to reject their interest in what he is doing or thinking. Thus he attempts to envelop his life in secrecy. Nevertheless, in a normal family situation, he continues to feel a strong attachment to home and an admiring love of his parents.

As boys and girls turn away from adults during the latter years of the "latency" period, they turn toward those who are

most like themselves—age-mates usually of the same sex, finding freedom and security in the gang. Strong loyalties and strong antagonisms, too, develop within these groups. The transition in a child from intense interest in himself and the grown persons whom he has acutely needed to an interest in a group of people like himself is one of the most significant phases of his social growth.

This tendency is somewhat more marked among boys. They form or join an exclusively masculine gang. To be sure, some boys like to play with girls as well, or even prefer them, but if so they usually keep this wish to themselves, rarely indulging it, for among their contemporaries it is not accepted as the thing to do. Generally they choose as playmates boys of about the same intelligence and physique as themselves. Perhaps the unconscious motive leading to this choice is a desire for companions with whom one can compete successfully in physical or mental prowess. Girls ally themselves with a group of about the same mental ability—are more concerned with success in school than with physical prowess.

A new attitude toward sex differences is evident in both girls and boys. Intense sex antagonism develops during these years. Boys are very ready to express this feeling, and devote a great deal of their time and thought to teasing girls. On the whole, girls show less antagonism to boys and are more apt to admit a wish to be like boys than are boys to be like girls. The cultural basis for this difference in attitude is obvious. In our society the masculine rôle is held to be distinctly superior. A boy would be mercilessly teased by adults and by his contemporaries alike for wishing to be a girl, or to look like one, whereas the tomboy—the girl who acts like a boy—is considered by adults to be funny or interesting and may be a leader among her companions. But although girls are less open about their feelings of antagonism to the other sex, they express it unmistakably in occasional unguarded moments—as

did a nine-year-old who said that her father was such a nice person she thought he must have been a girl when he was little.

To the boy at this stage it is the gang which serves as the source of authority and he rejects the standards of his home for those of his new confidants and companions. To his parents, he seems to be changing rapidly, and for the worse. His manners and his habits of cleanliness deteriorate. He finds any care of his person very boring, feminine and quite useless. If at six or seven he washed his hands, looked relatively neat, and spoke good English, now he resorts to standards which adults find barbaric. He is always dirty; he aggressively prefers old and shabby clothes, he glories in semi-articulate slang. In a thousand ways he is expressing allegiance to his own crowd, showing his parents that he conforms to the standards of his age-group and not to those of his home. He has found a new seat of authority. What is important to him and to others like him he tries to shroud in secrecy from the misunderstanding and alien eyes of older persons.

Intellectual interests shift during these years distinctly away from the fanciful concerns of early childhood to the literal and factual. His emerging curiosity was an outgrowth of his whole-hearted interest in himself, but now he is interested both objectively and subjectively. He wants to know what things are made of and how they work. Automobiles, boats, trains, and airplanes symbolize power for him; now he must investigate this phenomenon. He is fascinated by the search for what generates this power, what makes the wheels go round. In much the same way he is involved and interested in the mystery of the human body.

The child's wish to make things with his own hands becomes manifest, not only boys like to work in the shop, but some girls, too, girls become interested in sewing and cook-

ing, and sometimes boys also will admit their interest in preparation of foods. Both like to work in the graphic and plastic arts. They are freer in creative expression than is the young adolescent who is restricted by a self-conscious concern for adult standards. The child of this age works for his own satisfaction and that of his school-mates.

Emotional-cultural Pressures

It is not surprising that the attention of parents, teachers, and psychologists has not been focused upon the child during this period of his growth but has tended to pass from infancy and nursery years to adolescence. It is difficult for them to observe the developmental changes which he is making, since now he is not showing that he needs adults but remains as far from their reach as he can. The child is doing his best to resist efforts to influence him toward adult cultural standards. Finding him—or her!—not only noisy, dirty and ill-mannered, but secretive, scornful, and unsociable, grown persons quite naturally tend to reject him. Their wishes are likely to be in sharp conflict with his own, parents, especially, dread to see him moving away from them, from the standards they hold dear, from their love for him. They are disappointed and in many instances are secretly jealous of the playmates who are winning him away. They fret over what he is going to learn through this experience and “lay down the law” about his obligation to get home in time for dinner, to abstain from breaking neighbors’ windows, to spend more of his time taking care of his little sister whom he should love. Some parents, however, understand the child’s impulse to suck with the gang until after the beginning of the dinner hour, to make a few predatory expeditions, and to avoid the job of nurse-maiding a younger sister, for they recognize the gang as a normal pathway from the home to wider social contacts.

Even during this period the child turns to adults when in difficulty, and their understanding is necessary to his education toward further development. He is making new social and emotional adjustments and taking some hard knocks. With all his aloofness he still expects insight from adults and relies upon them to be ready with understanding guidance when he feels that he needs it. During these years adults are under a special obligation to gain insight into the child's life and to give him help as he needs and can accept it. As a matter of fact, the withdrawal of adults causes feelings of insecurity on the part of the child during the "latency" period more often than do the problems arising in his own brave new world of age-mates.

If grown persons are not too self-centered to fall in with the child's interests or to allow themselves to be used only as they are needed, not pushing themselves and their needs before his, they can establish a satisfactory relationship with him and spare him the acute sense of insecurity which their remoteness would have given. If the parents themselves are mature and reasonably adjusted to one another, and if they feel a real respect for the child's personality, they can deal with him in this way. Keeping his confidence without tying him to themselves too closely is a delicate job requiring skills which can come only from such understanding. With affectionate respect for him as a growing person, they can permit him a great deal of freedom, allowing him relationships which take him from home, yet all the while standing by, ready to offer understanding and comfort when the knocks of the gang send him back for security. They can accept without too great concern behavior which, from their point of view, seems foolish and unreasonable and can take an interest in aspects of life which they long ago rejected. They can come to feel that what the girl or boy is doing is important and not to be interfered with lightly, appreciating that the ways of the gang are

appropriate ways for gang-age children and that, for the sake of the child's own harmonious growth, adult standards must not be imposed before he is able to incorporate them.

This means that the adults who are most closely concerned feel a genuine interest in what the child is thinking, in his club organizations, in his shows and games. They are interested in at least some of the movies he wants to attend and can see what meaning there is for him even in neighborhood activities which cannot be approved. Adults who are willing to go with the child find that he is ready to come with them and to share the activities which they consider more valuable for him. If they resent his going out to the gang and returning to them for comfort, they force him further away—defiant and afraid. But if they leave him as free to go as to return, they are laying the basis of a real and lasting respect and friendship on his part.

And if they feel affectionate respect and interest such as this for the growing child who evades them and is appropriating alien standards, they make possible a relationship which contributes indirectly but significantly to the democratic way of life. A parent or teacher who feels a strong urgency to exert authority over the child, who must exact obedience from him, cannot give him the freedom which he needs in order to grow in his own way and at his own pace. Such an attitude in the adult threatens or impedes the emotional and social development of the child in many ways. Most important to the future community in which he will play his rôle as an adult is the fact that it may foster in him an exaggerated and unreasonable response to authority, either of rejection or acceptance. More often it is the latter—he develops a lasting need for the support of an authority outside himself in all important decisions. Rather than learning—by developing under sympathetic adult guidance—to make his own responsible choices among several courses of action within the range of socially

acceptable behavior, he remains always dependent, unable to assume responsibility for choices of his own, forever in need of outer authority greater than himself. It is not unreasonable to conclude that persons so reared, under the shadow of authoritarian attitudes at home and at school, are those who as adults cannot take part in a democratic society but find relief from the unbearable tension of choices, for which they are unable to take responsibility, in submission to an authoritarian government.

In shifting the source of authority from the home to the group, the child takes an important step in weaning himself away from the home, feeling his first loyalties toward others with whom he can make common cause. He is experiencing the rudiments of that feeling of community which later, in adolescence, will take the place of home. It is from the gang that he gains ideas of fair play, ability to face reality, willingness to give and take in social intercourse. Thus if subtly guided by adults, the child's gang experience makes a very considerable contribution to social development.

Most children, however, have too few opportunities to work out their needs in behavior that is normal to them at this stage. Adults, as we have seen, are afraid to let children get together in freedom; they are disposed to break up the gang or to supervise all group activities, thus curtailing or shutting off the child's proper opportunities for social initiative. The more highly developed the modern community, the fewer are the places appropriate to free play by the childhood gang, and the parents and teachers who elect to live and work in such communities are likely to be the very ones who feel the greatest concern to watch over the child, to supervise his pursuits, to seek to impose adult standards too soon.

It would seem to be wiser for schools and homes to permit the gang as much freedom as can reasonably be given, and this means a great deal of freedom. It means that adult super-

vision should enter only when the behavior of the gang becomes dangerous, physically or morally, to the child's growth. But since boys and girls, elusive as they customarily are at this stage, nevertheless do rely upon adults for security and understanding, subtle guidance on the part of parent and teacher is accepted and can be very helpful. The teacher can make good use in classroom work of the tendency to organize groups if she allows the children to take the lead and permits them—within limits of safety and reasonable consideration of adults—to work out their own standards. She is not finicky about appearance and manners but bears in mind that details like these are likely to be remedied of the child's own initiative as a later stage of development brings growing social interests.

Since young boys tend to confine their social contacts to members of their own sex, men leaders are, on the whole, better for them as play supervisors. A leader of the opposite sex is less apt to be uncongenial to girls of this age than to boys, indeed, since children generally have too few contacts with their fathers or with men teachers, a man may well serve appropriately as play supervisor for the girls' group as well. A leader who can throw himself wholeheartedly into the activities of the gang without trying to dominate may be of great benefit. Parents, teachers, and group leaders can help the child to establish modes of social behavior through daily experiences of his own choosing. Such community intercourse as he is ready for at this stage is very simple and it is important for adults to bear this in mind, and to encourage the social interests for which he is ready, rather than attempt to teach him about more intricate relationships through the social studies. By handling the simple contacts and experiencing the simple loyalties to which he is disposed at this time he is preparing himself for working out a more elaborate community adjustment in adolescence.

Understanding adult guidance of his manipulative interests and his absorption in the way things work can help him toward intellectual development. This is a favorable time for the gradual unfoldment of facts on sex, for example, because they can be brought to the child in answer to a curiosity that is spontaneous and direct and to a considerable degree impersonal and objective. Education in the creative arts is exceedingly helpful as an outlet to the youngster who has cut down his verbal expression. Understanding observation of his drawing, painting, and modeling is helpful to the adult in his guidance of the child, for it gives many clues to the youngster's state of being, it may show, for example, that a child who suffered earlier emotional privation seeks security on a more infantile basis than do his contemporaries. Such observation yields insights into the unique needs of the child for that security which is the foundation of all adequate adjustment to life.

A childhood which has presented sufficient opportunities to satisfy basic needs for achievement and for security in affection lays the basis for good adjustment in the ensuing years of adolescence, which are normally strenuous and which may be seriously complicated by unfavorable social circumstances. A child who has grown up deprived of the essential security is likely to show definitely neurotic patterns during the normal conflict of adolescence. Because he has suffered from lack of steady affection from his parents, a rejected child shifts in his behavior toward other adults and contemporaries from being aloof, disagreeable, or antagonistic, to being over-demonstrative and demanding. His loss in early childhood cannot under ordinary circumstances be compensated in later life, his adjustment is a therapeutic problem. On the other hand, the child who has been babied has serious difficulties in meeting the demands for his approach to adulthood.

III. ADOLESCENCE

What Is Adolescence?

During the period called adolescence, which in its Latin source means "to grow up" as it does in English, the individual goes through important physiological changes and these predispose his emotional development, for each brings changed or intensified feelings. At the same time that he is attempting to adjust both to physiological strains and to changes in feeling, he is being asked to adapt himself to a new social position, a new responsibility in his group.

Adolescence is a long period—lasting approximately ten years—but it is difficult to determine just when it begins and ends in any given individual. Various physical indications, such as the appearance of secondary sex characteristics and the beginning of menstruation, have been judged to be signs of the onset of puberty and the beginning of adolescence, but other significant physiological changes may antedate, for example, the first menses. Furthermore, psychological changes do not keep pace with the physical. Because his home environment is over-protective, or because his intellectual development is delayed, an adolescent may be socially and emotionally retarded, even though he is physically advanced. The same factors confuse efforts to mark the close of the adolescent period. Emotional and mental immaturity may accompany physical maturity. Or, if unusual glandular conditions retard physical development, the youth may seem precocious. In other cases the intellectual growth is as retarded as is the physical. Since the physiological changes of adolescence influence emotional and sexual needs, emotional maturity is rarely, if ever, found to accompany retarded physical development.

It is highly important for adults to recognize that the ado-

lescent responds to stimuli with his whole being at whatever stage of development this may be in its physical, intellectual, and emotional aspects. If he is physiologically immature, he will not respond to the presence of the opposite sex by falling in love, and the use that he makes of his intellectual endowment is dependent upon his social and emotional pattern. Arriving at adolescence with a socially molded personality, he responds to new situations in the light of his total past experience. Although in education we have long been accustomed to view the adolescent in terms of his intellectual performance and to plan his education accordingly, although we frequently treat adolescence as a static period clearly bounded, it becomes evident in careful observation that the facts warrant a different approach on the part of adults. It is a developmental period of manifold, rapid, and often uneven changes.

Since the adolescent is for the first time subject to direct pressures from a larger, cooler environment, one that is only partially or not at all mediated by adults, now, more definitely than in childhood, his social development shifts in response to the shifting of social conditions within a given culture. In an earlier chapter¹ we examined some of the social-emotional conflicts in which young people are growing up in America today. In our present developmental consideration, of the ways in which the growing person learns to satisfy his basic needs in socially acceptable ways, we may try to indicate what are the usual forms of social behavior at this stage—in order to gain added understanding of the potential influences of adverse or auspicious social conditions, of skilful or inept guidance and education.

The Beginnings of Adolescence

Toward the end of the childhood period, in early adolescence, the young person shifts his loyalty and affection from

¹ Chapter III, "Children and Youth in Contemporary America"

a group like himself to one person like himself. This attachment may take the form of a very absorbing friendship with a contemporary or of devotion to an adult or older child. In the beginning of hero worship in the boy, of the crush period in the girl, the young person for the first time turns to another with some selflessness, he is beginning to be able to give himself to another person. In his choice of one who typifies the self which he is trying to develop, he is taking another important weaning step from home to the larger world. His first love for someone other than himself and outside the family is expressed by exotic behavior and a good deal of fantasy. A teacher or group leader who is so chosen and who can play his rôle wisely, giving the security which the young person seeks, can at the same time help to guide him toward developing interests in the opposite sex.

Growth and Adjustment in Adolescence

Youth is under constant inner pressure to establish his status, the prevailing inclination of the growing individual is to establish himself among others of his age and strive for acceptance at the stage just beyond his own. In this striving the adolescent is normally in conflict, for he is neither child nor adult and in his feelings he shifts from self-reliance to dependence. Thus the young person constantly struggles within himself to establish his own adulthood. Directly involved in this struggle are the others who are near him, and of these his parents are most intimately concerned. Toward them, as they symbolize control, as they are the source of his earliest concepts of good and bad, and as on the other hand they mean comfort and security to one who is not yet strong enough to stand alone, he is ambivalent in attitude, as indeed they, and society generally, are toward him. He needs to build up the integrity of his own personality and to assert himself in his own right, but the confidence in and dependence

upon adults which he has been accustomed to feel threaten this integrity. Under the strain of this conflict he turns back again and again to his parents for comfort and security. For their part they are likely to contribute greatly to his confusion and trouble by their own inconsistency toward him, at one moment boasting that he is ready to assume adult rôles, at the next bemoaning the fact that they have lost their baby.

Evidence of the conflict between childhood feelings and yearnings to be adult may be found in the fact that the adolescent frequently has difficulty in accepting emotionally the development of his own secondary sex characteristics, showing a good deal of modesty in regard to his body.

This modesty is, also, an aspect of his secretiveness from "prying adults" which manifests itself in many other ways. Withdrawal from adult control is an attitude that one may always expect in the adolescent, and this shows itself in his insistence on making his own decisions as well as in the tendency to make himself inaccessible to adults. He is apt to be very secretive about his personal relations, in younger adolescence protecting the confidence of the gang and the secret society, later showing unswerving loyalty toward individual friends. Some adolescents are quite aggressively protective of their personal feelings. Others, notably those who are in deeper conflict, give marked indications of running away even from themselves, into hectic activity which permits them no time to face their struggle. Such a young person gives the very misleading impression that he is "hard-boiled," and his seemingly impenetrable inaccessibility frequently antagonizes adults, who multiply his difficulty by responding with hurt aloofness.

The attitude of junior high school students toward their creative work and the nature of that work throws light upon the meaning and context of this characteristic withdrawal from adult control. In contrast to the freedom of childhood in creative work, the adolescent shows self-consciousness and re-

straint. He is accepting and striving to meet adult standards, but he wishes to conceal his aspirations from adults even though they are identified with these standards, fearful that in failing he may bring on their criticism.

It is evident that he is far from ready to stand alone. Having at the beginning of the adolescent period taken his standards of value from the gang and given his loyalty to it, now as he matures he turns to an older adolescent or an adult who serves as his model. With great admiration and loyalty he attaches himself to a person, usually of his own sex, accepting for his own the ideals which he believes to be those of the model—who is at least in part a fantasy ideal, and who represents to him the person he would like to become.

As physiological change re-activates feeling, the adolescent boy or girl turns a great deal of attention toward himself. With greater intensity than in childhood or infancy, he becomes occupied with his own body, with his sensation and feeling. These strong emotions are accompanied by a good deal of guilt feeling, they activate his conscience and his ideals. Since his code of behavior was in the first instance established by his parents, he tends to extend to them some of the intensity that he feels toward his own behavior. In accordance with his acceptance or rejection of himself, he accepts or rejects his parents, tending to feel very proud of their behavior or opinion, or very antagonistic toward it. His evaluation of himself and his parents is emotional rather than intellectual, the emotion is very intense and demands some outlet. In part, he turns it inward, becoming more introspective, more critical of himself. In part, he works it off through strenuous physical and intellectual activity. His humor and his conflicting thoughts and wishes, sometimes re-activating childhood fears and guilt, cause him to become very protective and defensive about his personal ideas and standards, in relation both to parents and to other adults. It is

this guilt feeling and fear of censure from adults which cause him at times to withdraw from them and to build up defenses against them, as in his work in creative art

At this time, the infantile sexual interest in the parent of the opposite sex reappears in changed and expanded form. The boy returns to his mother with high intensity of feeling which fluctuates from strong affection to great antagonism. This feeling intensifies his difficulties with his father; he is jealous of the father in relation to the mother, and fights his authority in a constant effort to assert his own manhood. The girl, on the other hand, plays up her femininity with her father, does a great deal to attract his attention. She becomes jealous and antagonistic toward her mother, refusing to confide in her or to accept her guidance. Excessive interest in persons of the opposite sex outside the family circle is also made evident now by exhibitionism and adornment, by competition, and by efforts to look "grown-up." The wish to prove more attractive than others, to members of the opposite sex induces rivalry with members of the same sex. The adolescent competes in games, in school work, and in social popularity. Also, as he finds affection in friends of the opposite sex, earlier antagonism toward siblings, especially of the other sex, decreases, he comes to respect the personality of sisters and brothers, and to develop friendship on an adult level.

The infantile wish to identify himself with something greater than he by possessing his parents is now expanded. He identifies himself with a large interest such as religion, a political movement or cause in place of the parents themselves. As he gives up his parents for these substitute interests, so too he begins to give up emotional dependence upon father and mother, to assert his independence of their authority and control and to prove himself grown up. Thus boys and girls make aggressive announcements of their plans, disregard parental wishes, or keep their designs secret from them. These

efforts are often clumsy and trying to adults unless they are aware that the adolescent is striving to gain self-reliance, and that this is necessary for the attainment of social maturity

As part of his intensified need to achieve and his new desire to excel, to prove his worth to himself and to others, comes the need for a purpose. The adolescent sets up goals for his adult life and makes plans for their attainment. In early adolescence the goals are likely to be fantastic and wishful. The setting up of goals is extremely egocentric, they are intended to serve the purpose of winning acclaim for him. Later goals are sometimes selected in the light of the individual's abilities and limitations and are capable of realization. They expand to include not only the self but the parents, families, and near friends. In still more mature adolescent goals, the interest in self and family is subordinated to that of a wider social group. In these later goals the child's desire to win approval from his parents reappears as a wish to gain esteem from society, the youth is expressing his vocational interest in terms of service.

Thus in youth the basic needs of childhood are redefined in terms of these fundamental needs: to feel acceptable and useful to adult society, to have a purpose, to work out personal relationships in satisfying and approved behavior.

Emotional-Cultural Pressures

It is necessary for the educator to understand the changes that normally take place during this period and the interaction of the various aspects of the total adolescent personality. Those who are close to him must recognize, too, that as his horizon expands it comes to include a larger and larger number of adults who have some influence upon him. Even if his parent or his teacher wishes to do so, she cannot protect the adolescent from his wider environment. He no longer permits mediation. The influences of the culture, now imme-

diately received, are very great, and intrinsic problems of adjustment may be gravely intensified by external circumstance.

However much the adolescent withdraws from the control of adults, he loves them and depends upon them often. Most teachers and parents are fully aware that they carry a good deal of responsibility for his development at this stage; indeed, they can hardly avoid interest in him even when they feel hurt or antagonistic, for he takes the center of the stage. And they are drawn to him by his increasing similarity to themselves, by sympathy with the intensity of his feelings. They are, however, beset with difficulties in understanding his many differences from themselves. They are inclined to be antagonized by his withdrawal, embarrassed by his devotion, disturbed by his sex interest. Many are unprepared for the totality of his response, confused by his shifting from childishness to maturity and back again, ambivalent in their own attitudes as to his status. These are some of the problems which parents, teachers, social workers, and employers face in trying to give understanding guidance to boys and girls at this stage of rapid and manifold development.

The attitudes of adults regarding the status of youth shift almost as much as do those of youth itself. Adults seldom realize how much they increase the young person's problem thereby. Under pressure and frustration the individual normally wishes to regress to earlier patterns of behavior with which are associated protection and care, and this tendency is great in the adolescent. It is intensified by the fact that adults tend to force him to play the rôle that is satisfying to them at a given time. Society as a whole is changeable and unreliable in its evaluation of youth's status during economic and political change.

The degree of conflict which the adolescent faces with regard to his interest in sex varies with the mores. Usually adults increase this problem by their tendency to overlook the fact

that he is under a physiological strain and is being disturbed by his renewed interest in his body, his evident satisfaction in feeling and his sense of guilt about his feeling. They find it hard to recognize that he is struggling with sexual sensation which is so new and intense as to frighten him. The situation tends to frighten them in turn. On the whole they are disposed to deny that it exists, taking refuge in the position that he is too young for such problems and that he had better get outdoors and have some healthful exercise and forget. Intellectually, however, they know that this prescription will not work.

Meeting the environment unprotected by adults, the adolescent now finds in it new meaning in terms of his own physiological and psychic changes. Sex facts and social facts which previously he passed by without particular notice are seen in an entirely new light. It is hard for him to get a sense of proportion, and he tends to exaggerate the meaning of these experiences. Through it all he tends to feel more and more that adults are people to be avoided and tends to become isolated, either within himself or within a small group of his contemporaries. The fact is that on the whole parents and teachers are more keenly aware of their responsibilities to inculcate standards of conduct than they are of their rôle in helping young people to grow into new types of relationships. They are still not aware of how the first of these is related to the second, nor of the fact that the quality of the human relationships which adolescents are forming and the manner in which they conduct them are influenced less by precept than by the patterns of feeling which they have come to take on in the course of their family relationships. All the precept or coercion in the world will fail to alter the basic feelings which prompt new relationships and give rise to new standards and ideals.

It is in the home that these impulses and desires are

fostered, and it is from the home that they take their form and manner. Nevertheless, the standards and ideals of the adolescent are different from those of the adult world. Parental precept gives rise to conflict by running against the feeling patterns of which the home itself has been the mold. It fails to take account of differences between the cultural demands of the adolescent and those of the adult worlds, and differences in standards and patterns of conduct which divide one generation from the next. To the extent that it does have influence, such precept obstructs creativity in human relationships.

Upon the adult's ability to accept the intense affection of the adolescent, usually directed to the parent of the opposite sex, and upon his ability gradually to help the young person to direct it to some contemporary of the opposite sex, depend much of the future social adjustment of the young person. A well adjusted and understanding parent is willing to accept this affection, to play a warm, affectionate rôle, and also to let the adolescent turn to make more mature adjustments to people of his own age.

Many adolescent problems arise from too close contact with one parent, observation indicates, however, that more serious problems arise from the remoteness of one parent or of both. Some mothers, because of their need for achievement, manage not only their households with scientific efficiency but their children as well, leaving little scope for warmth and affection.

Many problems arising from the disproportionate slightness of masculine influence on childhood are manifested in adolescence. Girls frequently find it difficult to adjust to masculine relationships and boys show submissive attitudes due to the domination of the mother and women teachers.

In parent education, more emphasis should be placed on the rôle of the father in the emotional life of his daughter.

and his son. He should be in close contact with them during their elementary-school period. Throughout the high school both masculine and feminine influences are needed. It is generally believed, as has been said, that the adjustment to the opposite sex is more difficult for the girl than for the boy, and therefore reasonable contact with men should be provided. For both boys and girls, it is important that the women teachers in the school should be people who have made at least a psychological adjustment to the opposite sex.

Teachers, who are more frequently chosen as models by the adolescent than are any other adults, are sometimes concerned with what appears to be a crush on the part of the adolescent. Some teachers push him away. Others allow him to become too dependent, childless teachers, particularly, are inclined to invest a personal interest in the student, taking a parental attitude, feeling pride in his growth and sorrow in losing him. It is important for teachers to study such a situation carefully in order to determine just what their rôle should be in regard to each adolescent. This relationship is an essential step in the growing-up process, since it represents a venture away from the home to the outside world which nevertheless gives opportunity for the guidance and security that the adolescent still needs.

For the purpose of his education the adolescent must be understood as a functioning personality, responding with his whole being. We have already seen that there is a definite relationship between his physiological maturation and his response to individuals. Social problems can have little meaning to even a very bright youngster who has had only childish emotional and social experiences, and without emotional maturity he does not grasp the significance of biological facts. Many school administrators expect teachers to produce results in young people which are inappropriate to their states of development. Under such pressures the adolescent may take

flight into abstraction, and his flight may be misinterpreted by his teacher as marked evidence of intellectual ability. So he may be steered in the direction of his flight, emerging from high school or college as an individual able to deal in mental gymnastics but not with life. Or, because of emotional immaturity, a young person may be so blocked that he cannot make use of his intellectual processes, he is apt to be considered stupid in the classroom, and his teachers are amazed to find that he rates high on an intelligence test.

It is the task of all those who would help the adolescent in his social, emotional, and intellectual development to see him functioning as a total personality, to take into account all aspects of his growth in their interrelationships, and to plan educational endeavors so as to round out his developmental experience. Under guidance such as this the young person may come to adulthood as one who finds satisfaction of his basic needs in social competence. This is not easy to achieve in contemporary American culture; to live both constructively and with satisfaction in a dynamic scene requires a considerable degree of maturity. A democratic society provides no symbolic father for the protection of its citizens, sets no single hero above all others. Its citizens, if they are to participate as adults, must constantly weigh evidence on the authority of their own best judgment and in forming decisions they must bear in mind the other persons among whom they live. It allows greater freedom and thereby imposes more social responsibility.

The individual who has attained a substantial degree of maturity is able to stand on his own feet, but he does not try to stand entirely alone. He has made an adjustment to both sexes and finds satisfaction in working—or playing—with members of either or both. Fundamentally interrelated with them in a democratic society, he is willing to share responsibility with them and he can accept help as well as give it. He

finds the security which he needs as an adult in a feeling of community with others. He can face social change, indeed, he is free to contribute to the growth of democracy through participation in change.

Chapter XIII

LIFE, LEARNING, AND INDIVIDUALITY¹



Learning and living belong intimately together. How intimately and essentially the two are inter-related, and what implications follow for guiding the educative process toward more adequate individuality,—these constitute the theme of this chapter.

THE BIOLOGICAL BASES OF BEHAVIOR AND LEARNING

In order to understand how learning is interrelated with living it becomes necessary to study behavior as the interaction between the organism and its environment.

It might be counted a tautology to speak of the biological bases of behavior were it not that certain psychologists have in this matter seemingly put physiology ahead of biology. It is the larger relationships of the organism with its environment, not the resulting physiological processes, which are the necessary ones to give point and reality to behavior. For life consists of the continued interactions between organism and environment, and only in the light of such interactions can behavior make sense either in life or for that study of life we call psychology.

The tendency to reduce psychology to physiology seems part or instance of a once general effort to carry the analytic

¹ This chapter was written by William H. Kilpatrick

methods of Newtonian physics unchanged over into the study of human phenomena. The result was a strong tendency toward mechanism, the effort to reduce distinctive and obvious human conduct to non-conscious units of neurone action, or conditioned reflexes. In these reductions the supremely significant human processes of thinking and valuing somehow got lost, so that instead of life's study and learning in which all the complexities of intelligently self-directing personalities were involved, we got simple and mechanical habits or conditionings built up in docile subjects under the direction of laboratory experimenters or drill-master teachers who themselves did all the judging and deciding. Learning might be studied in terms of nonsense syllables or by watching animals in what were to them non-lifelike situations of puzzle-box and maze. The school results from these so-called scientific procedures tended to be emphases on separated items, especially such items as could be measured by the existent standardized tests, and school authorities were encouraged to judge teachers by class records on such tests. Reduction of higher to lower began with psychology, it ended with teacher and pupil. Supervision and teaching alike became (in tendency) both atomistic and mechanistic, and what was to be done was ordered from the top downward. Personality and its enrichment were forgotten or ignored. Reduction had got in its work.

It now appears that even in physics analytic atomism does not precisely hold. Until the day of Einstein, Rutherford, and Planck it was easy, if not necessary, to believe that Newton's analytic atomism, partly of ultimate content elements (atoms), partly of quite separable forces, constituted the sole method of science. On this basis any complex phenomenon could be analyzed into its constituent unit elements of content and force. These elements would then be combined into manageable simple instances until the "laws" governing their behavior

could be established. These laws so established would, so it was supposed, hold universally. When these things had been done, science could, once certain initial conditions had been given, thenceforth prophesy the future. But with the coming of the new physics we have learned not only to suspect atoms in general but to believe that any factor or item behaves differently according to the constellation in which it acts. The old analysis thus loses its universality. From these and other considerations we increasingly conclude that reduction to atomism is not the way to deal with human personality and its behavior.

To begin then with biology, life is the continued interaction between organism and environment. Something happens either within the organism or in the environment, or more strictly *between* the two, and the organism is stirred into behavior. It may be to seek, it may be to avoid. This stirring looked at "from within," as we say, we call want or wish or need or preference or strain. The same stirring manifests itself "on the outside," as we say, in movements which tend to change the environment, and, if need be, vary until the results meet the need and satisfy or reduce the strain. Among such movements in the human body are many "automatic," or non-consciously directed processes which serve essential bodily needs, as digestion, breathing, heart-beating, the temperature-equilibration-process, and the like. But beyond these, man, as we shall in a moment consider, is capable of acquiring meanings. When he has learned to deal with meaning, his strivings may become "consciously directed." He may know things, one or more, such that if any one of them be attained, the need or want will be met. He "chooses" one of these to "set up as an aim." In terms of this aim he directs his efforts, "chooses his means," so as the more surely to attain his end. The non-consciously directed bodily processes like digestion, which nevertheless serve the organism, we call only purposive; the consciously directed we call purposeful. We are ready then to

say that all behavior tends to satisfy some end. It is at least purposive, it may be purposeful. Goal-seeking characterizes behavior, both as a whole and in detail.

The proposition that behavior is goal-seeking runs counter to the mechanistic wishes of the reductionists, now, to be sure, a decreasing number of psychologists. These have felt in accordance with another phase of Newtonian science that to be scientific they must keep mind entirely separate from what it studies, and accordingly they must avoid in psychology terms that imply thinking, valuing, and purposing. We of this book feel that such things as thinking, valuing, and purposing are essential to human behavior, representing life at its highest and best, and that we must therefore seek a psychology that deals adequately with the whole gamut of behavior, one which not discounting conditioning or habit formation as facts still tries most pointedly to deal with these highest manifestations of life. As teachers we cannot be content with any outlook which tends, whether knowingly or not, to reduce life to lower terms than need be, we are, on the contrary, especially anxious to raise life always as high as we can.

THE WHOLE CHILD

As we study the organism further, we see that when it is stirred to act, it acts always as a unitary whole. If a human is sufficiently stirred, he thinks, feels, has impulses, engages in bodily movements, and each of these manifestations cooperates with the others to serve the felt need of the organism at the time. We see this easily in a child who is, say, trying to catch a butterfly. His eyes working through acquired habits tell his feet where to carry him and tell his hands when to reach out to catch. Obviously, eyes and feet serve hands, as all serve the organism. We also know, each from his own experience, that the child is thinking about what he is doing and

that this forwards the efforts. We believe, too, that the child is feeling, his face shows it; and clearly also he is anxious to get the butterfly; he is acting under a conscious impulse. We sum all of this up by saying that the "whole child" is engaged, and we believe that the like is in greater or less degree typical of all behavior.

Since some have misconceived what is meant by the term, the *whole child*, it may be well to give to it a further word. The more careful statement as given above is that in any typical instance of behavior the organism acts as a unitary whole. The word *organism* implies the organization of constituent parts to make up a working whole, one whole working as a unit. While we may for thought distinguish individual parts, they do not act separately, but cooperatively. In the case of man, it is clear even to casual observation that eye and hand cooperate in picking up a desired object, and that certain types of excitement are accompanied by flushed cheeks, quickened heart-beats, and deeper breathing, and likely enough by excited physical movements, while "internally" (as we know of personal experience) there is the play of surging emotions and impulses as we think of now this and now that feature of the situation. Closer study, as Cannon, Sherrington, and others have shown, gives the convincing details of physiological coöperation of part with part in carrying forward all the typical life processes, if not indeed all living.

The difficulty for some appears in the term *whole*. Is it asserted, these ask, that every part and aspect of the organism is involved in every activity? And if yes, how about all the varied things that one knows or can do? Are all these involved in each thing that one does? We could ask an analogous question of the physicist. Is it true that each body in motion affects all others? If a child drops his ball to the earth, does the earth rise to meet it? The answer, of course, is yes. The effect is there, but in this case is very, very small. We can calculate

it, but we cannot observe it. When the ball is as big as the moon, the effects are noticeable. So with the cooperative action of the parts of the organism. As far as there is organization, so far (we seem compelled to believe) are the parts involved in any act. The effect in any particular instance may or may not be noticeable. As to the various things we know or can do, it appears that each thing we have learned leaves its effect on the organism and so enters in some degree, directly or indirectly, into all subsequent behavior. We may not in a particular case be able to trace the effect, and for many practical purposes the effect may be negligible, but the safer theory seems to be that nothing experienced is ever actually lost and that all experiences do in some way enter into all subsequent behavior.

A more practical question is as to the kind of organization to be effected, if we would increase the probability of noticeable results. We all know what it is to be unable to recall facts and data that we would like to use. We also know that some ways of organizing our ideas and knowledge serve us better than do others in this matter of recall. To see things in their causal relationship is usually better for recall than is, say, an alphabetical arrangement of terms. In general, meaningful connections are the most serviceable, so that the more we think meaningfully about data, the more likely are we to recall them when needed. In this sense, the more qualitatively organized our minds are, the more efficient will they be.

It is such considerations as the foregoing that explain an increasing use of the term organismic in psychological discussion. As we study these things we are less and less satisfied in behavior to deal with parts as if they act separately. Atomism, as we call this latter, is not true to the facts. Similarly, we cannot believe that organisms are mere machines, acting without reference to results. They do not always "know" the results toward which they tend, but they do at times consciously pur-

pose what they will do. Mere mechanism is, like atomism, not true to the observable facts. Also while the nervous system is not atomistic but integrative in its action, it is possible by taking thought to increase the integrative effect. The more we act on thinking, leaving neither fact nor impulse nor emotion "undigested," the better integrated we shall become. It is the aim of the "organismic" outlook to take care of these matters.

MIND, MEANING, ACTING CONSCIOUSLY

It is manifestly impossible to discuss in a single chapter all the controversial issues of psychology, but some are so important to teachers that we must consider them. We have just seen the inadequacy of atomism and mechanism to give us a satisfactory psychology. It becomes now necessary to speak on the positive side. How shall we conceive the human organism so as to give thinking, valuing, and purposing a fair chance to play their parts in the good life? The answer seems to lie in a better understanding of meanings, what they are, and how they work. If we can find and describe meanings at work in human experience, such that they can neither be denied nor explained away, we shall possibly help some teachers avoid certain mistakes into which an inadequate study of psychology has led too many. Let us begin with what is often called "consciousness."

We find today some writers like A. P. Weiss saying¹ that "all human conduct . . . reduces to *nothing but* . . . electron-proton groupings . . . [and] motions," and that "the behavior of the physicist is just as physical as the physics he teaches." We have J. B. Watson's words that "we say nothing of reasoning since we do not admit this as a genuine type of

¹ A. P. Weiss, *A Theoretical Basis of Human Behavior* (Columbus, Ohio, R. G. Adams, 1929), pp. 51, 54.

human behavior except as a special form of language habit", ¹ also that "so far in his objective study of man no behaviorist has observed anything that he can call consciousness, sensation, perception, imagery or will . . . he has [therefore] reached the conclusion that all such terms can be dropped out of the description of man's activity", ² and still further that "the premise of the behaviorist contains no proposition about meaning. It is an historical word borrowed from philosophy and introspective psychology. It has no scientific connotation" ³ On the other side of the fence we have Plato saying that "thought is best when the mind is gathered into herself and none of these things trouble her—neither sounds nor sights nor pain or pleasure—when she has as little as possible to do with the body" (*Phaedo*, 65) A lesser writer reflecting greater ones has recently said that "there dwells in every normal person, quite independently of domestic or social conditioning, the intellectual belief that blasphemy, murder, unchastity, and stealing are essentially wrong and forbidden. The intellectual conviction that a thing is right or wrong is a manifestation of *conscience*." ⁴

Here we have Weiss asserting that thinking is the motion of electrons and protons. We may well admit that thinking may go along with such motion, but to say that it *is* the motion seems not to make sense. To say, as Watson does, that reasoning is not "a genuine type of human behavior," is an instance of the bad effect of efforts at reduction. To say that he can find no objective evidence for "sensation" or "perception" is certainly going pretty far, as it is to say that meaning has "no scientific connotation." When neo-Scholasticism exalts

¹ J. B. Watson, *Behavior* (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1914), p. 319.

² In article "Behaviourism," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (13th ed.), Vol. III, p. 328.

³ Watson, *ibid.*, p. 249.

⁴ Father Bertrand Weaver, in *Reader's Digest*, March, 1938, p. 28.

"faculties" as with conscience in the instance quoted we have gone far to the other side and denied much valid objective evidence that any actual conscience is at least largely the result of its social conditioning. It is the existence of this confusion that calls upon us to dig down if we can to a surer basis on which to stand while we work through education for the betterment of man in society.

The problem of "consciousness" has probably called forth sharper disputes than any other one thing in the history of thought. Plato, possibly following some Eastern suggestion, led the world to separate mind from body. Descartes carried the separation, if possible, still further. For him the two became separate substances. Mind was thinking substance and body extended substance. Being thus distinct substances, they could not possibly interact. And Western thought since Descartes' time is largely a history of the efforts to deal with the problem so raised. The position herein taken is that if we will lay aside any question of substance and simply study experience as we find it, we shall probably be able to avoid entanglement.

Suppose an aboriginal savage and a modern man were both shown a fountain pen, they would "see" different things. The savage would see a shiny black stick, the appropriate use of which he would not know. The modern would see the stick as a fountain pen, with whose use he is familiar. They "look at" the same physical object and their eyes (we will suppose) are equally good, but they "see" different things. They "see" differently because they contribute differently from what they have previously experienced. So far no denial is possible. Anyone can repeat an analogous experiment. This state of affairs we describe by saying that their previous experiences contribute different "meanings." These facts define the term *meaning*, and it is meaning so defined that underlies conscious action.

Meanings in the full sense (which we shall in a moment discuss) are the means by which men communicate as they interact, especially as they coöperate. The verb *to mean* will perhaps tell the story for us. "Did you *mean* to pass Mr. Jones by without speaking to him? He took it so, and is troubled." "No, I didn't recognize him. I recall now that I saw a man standing there, but I didn't know it was Mr. Jones. I meant no discourtesy." Here failure to "recognize" was failure to read the right meaning into the man who was "standing there." Mr. Jones on his part read intentional discourtesy into the failure to speak where no such meaning was intended. We say of such a case that a man acts consciously when he thinks what meaning his act will probably carry and intends or "means" it so.¹ I wave my hand to an old friend across the hall whom I have not seen for a long time. He waves back. I mean my waving to mean to him. "I see you and recognize you as you and I am glad to see you, I wish you to let me see that you see me as me and recognize my waving as meaning you." This may at first appear a good deal to be carried by so simple a thing as a wave of the hand, but consideration will show that the assertion is no exaggeration.

It is clear that such waving is on each side consciously done and that meanings as defined by the black-stick-fountain-pen episode are essential in the process. There are, of course, other types of conscious action. Also the mere use of meanings does not suffice to constitute conscious action. One may lock his door while occupied with other matters and not be able to say later whether he had locked the door. He recognized the key-hole sufficiently to insert key and turn the lock, but he "paid no attention" to what he did. To be conscious of what is done it seems necessary that the meanings of the situations be used

¹ George H. Mead said in *Mind, Self, and Society* (University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. xxi that "we are conscious when what we *are going to do* is controlling what we *are doing*" (Italics supplied.)

as a message to one's self with reference to some end or aim held in view as a guiding factor. For example, if I think of the wisdom of locking the door and *therefore* put the key in the lock and turn until I feel that I have locked the door, then I am using the meanings to tell me that I have done what I intended, I have accomplished my aim. In the case of waving to my friend, I tell myself at the same time what I tell him. To intend consciously what I do is to tell myself what I am doing and that I "mean" it.

This last consideration is the crucial essence of language, whether of signs (as with the waving) or with spoken or written words. A dog wags his tail with pleasure at seeing his master, and the master (being a human) sees and knows, but it is very doubtful that the dog thinks at all about the wagging or that the pleasure is to be signified. The probabilities are that he intends neither in any conscious sense. His tail-wagging accordingly is not language, though my hand-waving to my friend was, as was his reply to me.

From the foregoing we see that meanings (of the fountain pen *vs.* simple black-stick variety) are plain facts as truly as is the color red or a bad smell. They are elements within experience observable to one experienced enough to note them. And they are observable for the simple reason that like the color red and the bad smell they enter into experience. Something turns on their use. We make no more metaphysical assumption in the one case than in the other. We simply study experience. We are, however, peculiarly interested in meanings, for out of their use intelligence gains great power.

SELF AND OTHER, AND THE SELF-OTHER ORIGIN OF MIND, MEANING, RESPONSIBILITY, AND CONSCIENCE

We may continue the discussion on meanings by showing how they serve in developing the consciousness of self and

other, and so lead on to a better understanding of meanings, mind, responsibility, and conscience.

By *self* as here used we mean such an organization of meanings as allows the human individual to use appropriately the words *I*, *me*, *my*, that is, to see himself as one among other humans, engaging in acts that are "his" in the sense that others hold him to account for them, and he knows what they mean and can hold himself accordingly to corresponding account. This is a descriptive definition to be justified in what follows.

The two conceptions of one's self as a self and of others as persons (other selves) are built simultaneously in the life of each (normal) person. Thus no one is born a self, but acquires selfhood each for himself within human association, partly from finding his mother responding to his demands, partly through noting similarities of body and function between himself and others, partly through hearing common names applied to his and others' bodily parts and functions, partly through becoming aware that he can do certain things at will and in feeling compulsion to do or not to do certain of them as his mother directs, being held accountable therefor, and partly through the observed fact of admitted possession by him of his toys, by sister of hers, with the appropriate use of the words *my*, *mine*, *yours*, *his*, etc.

In what has just been said, it is evident to consideration that other humans, their language, and their prior achieved conceptions of self, of parts of the body and their function, of holding to account, of possession of property—all these play a decisive rôle in helping the child effect selfhood. It may truly be said that these other humans initiate him into the goodly company of conscious and responsible persons. Herein does the culture (Chapter XI) get in its work. While this initiatory process is going on, the child learns, partly as cause and partly as effect of the initiation, to use the common

group language and to share with others in the common group life. If he is to share, he must do his part. Communication and accountability are thus built.

It may help if we further think of the child's self as functionally bifurcated into an internal self and an internal other. The term *functional* as here used is important. We are not proposing to divide the child into two distinct entities. On the contrary, the "whole" organism, in the sense discussed above, is at work at each successive moment, now in the internal self, now in the internal other. If we were asserting entity bifurcation, proof would be necessary—and impossible to bring. But, functional bifurcation requires no more proof than to be useful in describing the observed facts of life. As the child talks to himself (and all do so if normal), much of his talk may be described as between this internal self and the internal other:

"She said not touch it."

"I will touch if I wish to."

"She will get me if I touch it."

"Good little boys will do what mother says."

Such an internal conversation may well be a rehearsal of what might go on between the self and the external other. Thinking in any full sense thus gradually emerges as a dealing between the internal self on the one hand and the internal other, on the other hand, where the latter represents external conditions that must be met when thinking is translated into action. Honest thinking is thus an intended dealing with actual conditions. No greater maladjustment can come to one than to fail to achieve this honest personal acceptance of actual conditions.

Meanings, to revert to our earlier discussion, come thus to clear consciousness in shared cooperative activity and are tested as those cooperating find that they can understand each other in the same sense. Cooperation, communication, holding to account, honest thinking, and the testing of meanings all go in

simultaneously Mind and character are the twin results of the process Mind results as the organized aggregate of tested meanings such that with them one can intend what he does and says, and others can understand both saying and doing, and act pertinently upon it, while character is the organized aggregate of interacting structural additions and changes as learning follows experience.

It may happen that the internal other speaking for the external other will make a not-yet-well-admitted demand upon the internal self, and that this latter may under the circumstances be more inclined to follow an older and better organized and therefore more immediate and propulsive response When these things happen, we call such a situation of strain a moral conflict Moral victory will then mean moral growth, a hitherto external demand has now been accepted for inclusion within one's self If this proper demand is thoroughly accepted and incorporated, the next conflict will appear further along the growth-line of discrimination and inclusion In connection we may define conscience (at its best) as the voice of the internal other asserting in behalf of the external order the justice of its demand over the contrary wish or act of the internal self.

If we anticipate later phases of the discussion, we may say that learning is (in part) the building into self-structure of the results of experience In this sense self-building as here discussed is a learning process. When we consider the significance for life of communication, language, cooperation, accountability, sense of responsibility, and conscience, all of which are learned in and through this self-other process of self building, we readily agree that no other learnings are more strategic for the welfare either of the individual or of society It is important that parents and teachers understand how these learnings take place that they may stand ready to help them go forward successfully Language is learned as

it helps communication and coöperation to go on, and this holds of all kinds and stages of language. Children must have abundant and varied opportunities at genuine cooperation in the various kinds of living so that inherent communication may demand an ever more adequate language. Amid such experiences a healthy kind of responsibility and conscience may well be built. In particular, life must give opportunity to build a fair adjustment between the demands of the self and the demands of others during the time in which the conceptions of self and others are through the years being more and more adequately built. The help of wise guidance here is essential, nowhere more so.

From the point of view of social theory it is highly significant that the self and mind and conscience are inherently social in origin. The culture, entering through language and other aspects of community life, builds itself initially, as we saw in Chapter VIII, into the very structure of each individual person.

On the basis then of the fountain-pen-vs-mere-black-stick definition of meaning we have seen how self, other persons, thinking, conscious action, language, mind, holding to account, moral conduct, and conscience are all defined within the experience process. Each gets its definition, marked off from the rest, in terms of identifiable elements of ordinary human experience. In spite of contrary assertion, meaning does have scientific connotation. It is absolutely necessary to the very existence of mind, conscience, and personality.

MATURATION

As we approach the problem of learning, the question of maturation obtrudes itself. Many writers separate maturation, which they count primarily a matter of heredity, from learning which they count to be a matter of environmental influ-

ence. There are certain phases of the problem still in dispute, but it seems better to say with Child that "the whole course of development is a process of physiological learning," and that "development represents behavior as truly as [do] any activities of the mature organism" ¹

From this point of view the apparent uniformity of the maturation process within any given species is not due to absence of environmental influence but rather to uniformity of such influence. In fact, closer study shows great individual differences in rates of maturation and differing rates within any one individual as the chapter on the growth process well brings out. We may, it appears, properly apply the term *maturation* to the more physiological parts and aspects of the development process, but we should probably go astray if we think of this part of the process as fundamentally different from the learning which takes place after the development of the body (in the popular sense) has already taken place.

We may thus use the term *maturation* to refer to the useful fact that certain developments properly precede certain desirable activities. "Reading readiness," for example, may be in part the sufficient development of eye-muscle control to allow these muscles to be used for reading; but such "readiness" is no less truly the achievement by the child within his cultural group of certain prerequisite social and psychological attitudes and equipment, which underlie any successful reading.

There are perhaps as many different kinds of "readiness" as there are distinguishable lines and stages of growth. At one stage the child is not "ready" for any complex type of social cooperation. Later on he will "normally" demand it. The teacher must know about such matters so as to avoid an unwise pushing of what the individual concerned is not ready for, as well as to seek favorable opportunities for utilizing

¹ C. M. Child, *Physiological Foundations of Behavior* (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1924), pp. 226, 249.

readinesses that appear. Earlier writers, William James, for instance, assumed "instincts" to account for and explain the phenomena here under consideration. We no longer hold to instincts, but we should be just as ready as they to seize the opportunity when "the hour is ripe." And as James said, "One can draw no specific rule for all this. It depends on close observation in the particular case."¹

LIFE'S STUDY AND LEARNING

This part of the discussion joins very intimately with the biological outlook developed at the beginning of the chapter, while it assumes at the same time all the intervening discussion.

Let us begin with life's study. Whenever a person finds himself sufficiently concerned over any situation, he tries as best he can to bring his available resources to bear upon managing it. In particular he studies the situation to see both its hindering difficulties and the possible resources that it offers or that he can summon to his aid. He then tries to use the resources to overcome the difficulties so as to attain his ends.

Such an effort to deal intelligently with a life situation we call life's study. If circumstances permit, any normal person will engage in such study in proportion to the concern felt and, in general, in proportion to the habit and faith previously built in and for such study. It is a certain characteristic of intelligent action.

This life-study may profitably be contrasted with school-study of the conventional type. In the latter, assigned subject-matter is set out before the pupil for acquisition. His chief concern is to give back to the teacher upon demand what had thus been assigned. The situation has been created for the pupil by the teacher and as such is studied. That is, the child

¹ *Talks to Teachers* (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1899), pp. 61 f.

primarily life-studies the teacher while he only secondarily school-studies the assigned lesson. His concern is, typically, to do what the teacher demands, no more and no less, at least, not so much less as to cause trouble. Beyond the teacher's demands the pupil has, typically, no special interest in the lesson. His life situation is to meet the teacher's demands. When that has been met, he tends to be satisfied. The exceptional pupil may go beyond this, the typical not often and not far.

One particular feature of life that concerns us here is the fact of emerging change as a never-failing source and occasion of life's study as above described. In life, at the point we call the present, novelty is continually emerging, actual novelty. We never know beforehand just what will happen and our efforts are always precarious. We never know how seriously our plans may be upset. These things mean that for dealing with actual life mere knowledge of the past and mere habits brought over from the past do not suffice. If genuine and serious novelty emerge, nothing less than creative thinking will deal with it.

These considerations make creative thinking a necessary and essential constituent of actual living. Moreover, the demand for such thinking increases with the rapid change and growing complexity of our modern Western civilization. Any education based simply on the acquisition of what has hitherto worked will not suffice. We must be prepared to deal creatively with the uncertain and precarious life that eternally confronts. We never know in advance just what will happen. We never know beforehand just how to deal with what does happen. We have to learn to face the novelty developing unknown future. No other kind of study will serve in the days in which we now live. Creative study has become an essential for intelligent living.

As we come next to consider life's learning, we see how this has been peculiarly misunderstood. We have, most of us, some-

how supposed that any learning must primarily concern the future and moreover that it comes chiefly by repetition. These things were true of the old-time school learning, but life's learning is far different.

Primarily, life's learning exists to carry on the present endeavor. It may in time serve a remoter future—it will in fact inevitably affect it—but that is not its main function. Because this is so different from the ordinary emphasis, it becomes necessary to deal with the matter in some detail.

HOW LOGICAL COHERENCE DEPENDS ON LEARNING

The general proposition may be laid down that moment-by-moment learning is absolutely necessary to give logical coherence and effectual consistency to any developing experience. For example, no conversation worthy the name can go on at all if the participants do not each learn what the other says as he says it. In fact, no single sentence will make sense if the successive parts are not learned as they are heard. And this learning looks primarily to carrying on this conversation with no necessary thought of the future beyond fitting this experience into the life one is living.

The illustration of the conversation here given is general, holding as well of any experience so developing that each succeeding act must join appropriately with the preceding if the experience is to have coherence as it goes. It is exactly the fact of learning which gives the coherence such that each succeeding phase of action may be pertinent and appropriate to what has gone before. To use an older phraseology, it is the fact of learning that gives apperceptive unity to the experience. And it is this essential function thus performed by the learning which primarily calls the learning itself into existence. What is learned, to be sure, abides and so serves us later, but it is primarily called into existence in order to carry on the

experience now and otherwise under way. We misread what learning is and how it acts when we persist in giving it primary reference to the other and further experiences of the distant future

Moreover, because of a too common intellectualistic bias the word to learn as used in the preceding paragraphs tends to refer principally if not solely to remembering, and this in a mere thought sense if I do not remember what the other person has just said, I cannot reply to it appropriately. That much, of course, is true, but learning includes far more than the mere thinking aspect of life. To make this assertion clearer it will probably pay us to trace through from start to finish a child's developing experience of a kind to bring out obviously not only thinking but as well feeling, impulse, and bodily action. To see in this what learning does from stage to stage and how essentially it serves will probably go much further than could any mere abstract argument.

LEARNING IN A DEVELOPING EXPERIENCE

Henry, a boy of ten, had just completed with his class an anticipatory study of the neighborhood birds when he went for an Easter holiday visit to the home of his uncle in the South. Here his cousin George, a year older, showed him a birdhouse that he had himself made now actually occupied by a pair of wrens. The boys could see house and birds plainly from an upper window, and even the eggs in the nest. Henry was enchanted that a mere boy had actually done so admirable a thing, and at once conceived the idea not only of making such a birdhouse himself to put in the tree near his window at home but as well of urging upon his class that they adopt a program along this line as their next project. He studied closely how George had made the house, measured the size of the entrance hole, and generally discussed his plans with

any and all who would listen. In particular he was gratified to think that the season at his home was sufficiently delayed to allow him to make a house for this year's wrens to occupy. "If only they will!" he exclaimed.

It is not necessary to trace all the steps in this developing experience how Henry on getting back after the holidays was earliest at school to look up the question of suitable lumber and to talk with the teacher about his plans, how he met opposition at first from the girls of the class, but eventually persuaded the group to make birdhouses to put in the park if any had no available trees at home; how he showed his drawings of the house he meant to build, how the class studied other possibilities than wrens; how they all worked at the actual making, how a knot in a board gave Henry trouble; how his zealous but hasty nailing split one side for his house and he had to make another, how earnestly he watched the movements of the wrens, and how he could hardly sleep the fateful night in his eagerness to tell the others that the birds had actually gone into his house to live.

A number of things interest us in this experience. First perhaps comes the fact of life's sprouting further life. Henry's previous life and experience had somehow made him just ready for this birdhouse interest to spring up. Seeing what George had done was the match sufficient to kindle the flame. Out of the interaction of his past with this present experience Henry's life sprouted forth the new proposal. So far as it concerned him the proposal was a creative act. True enough, of itself it argued no high degree of creative ability. George had clearly led the way. But Henry had never done the like before and he did himself conceive the idea of what he would do. This sprouted forth from his own life process and, as we shall see, the proposal had, first and last, a long and complex series of consequences in his further life process. As an addition to the world's stock of valuable ideas, Henry's birdhouse

contributed nothing, many predecessors had thought and done the like before, but as a contribution to the course of Henry's own life and as through him to his comrades it was highly significant. If we knew in detail Henry's various classmates, we should see how they likewise were ready for this or that flowering of life when Henry's idea was put to work and brought the stimulation they needed. For life to have this quality of sprouting further life good to live, is perhaps the most desirable possible characteristic. It is this which makes the incident worthy of our study. It was the hope of this which made the teacher encourage Henry when he burst upon her that post-Easter morning. To cherish life's sprouting of life is the teacher's first and chiefest duty.

HOW LEARNING BUILDS PERSONALITY

A second thing, an extension of the first, is to see how the experience developed, how one thing led to another. The details in this specific case have perhaps already been sufficiently sketched in the paragraph second before this one. What we wish now is to see the correlative successive growth in Henry and to recognize this growth as learned through the successive phases of the developing experience. It may again help if we make a functional bifurcation. In the preceding paragraph Henry's proposal to himself was seized upon as highly significant, being in psychological essence a creative act. He did it. It welled forth spontaneously out of his mind and heart. His life begat it. It was the fruit of the marriage of his past with his (then) present. Now we wish to put over against this creative proposing the factor of weighing, judging, and accepting, and we wish to think of these two as acting together at each developing point in the whole developing experience. At times the proposing may be but sluggish, and the experience then drags, becomes monotonous, perhaps fails

altogether and dies. At other times, the proposals come so pertinently, so appropriately that they are at once accepted and the process moves quickly, excitedly forward. At still other times, rival proposals present themselves, so nearly balanced in pulling power that the process of weighing and judging goes slowly and even painfully before any one of the rivals can win out and be accepted. But always it is an acceptance that moves us on from one stage to the next.

THE TWIN FACTORS PROPOSAL AND ACCEPTANCE

This factor of acceptance is so important for our total discussion that it may be wise to elaborate it somewhat. If we use the term *acceptance* in the algebraic sense, as well we may, to include rejection as acceptance of the negative, we can make the highly important assertion that it is in and through successive instances of acceptance that any experience begins, develops, and ends. An experience begins when some new state of affairs stirs one to initiate a course of action, and this takes place when one is not willing to accept what now obtains but must do something to change things to a more satisfactory state. As one then proceeds to act, thoughts present themselves as to how to take in (see, understand, size-up) what is happening. Appropriate impulses present themselves as sizing-up thoughts take shape, and emotions to fit propose themselves as to how to feel about things. When any distinctive sizing-up is accepted to act on with its appropriate impulse and feeling, the experience has therein, through this instance of acceptance, moved on to another stage. The situation has taken on a new phase, one is now called upon to do the next thing. Again do new proposals arise as to how to think, feel, and act at this phase and stage. After some program (with accompanying feeling) is accepted for action, we proceed to try it out. As long as this program works well, we

accept it to prosecute further. If it works badly, we accept it thus and proceed to change it until it again works acceptably. This process keeps up until we reach an end that we are glad to accept, and this terminates the experience; or we may keep the process up until we are convinced that we cannot succeed. If we are thus forced to accept failure, the experience has reached this kind of end. But however it ends, it is acceptance that does it.

Of course, any stage in an on-going experience may call for deliberation and for closer search into facts. Even so, the deliberation or the search will each in its turn finally end in the acceptance of what was sought or in the acceptance of admitted failure to find. Let the experience develop as it may, by whatever crook or turn, it is always an acceptance that ends one phase and sets the stage for the next. And any factor in the experience plays its distinctive rôle according as it was accepted for that purpose and in that degree. Always at any stage there is a proposing of how to think, feel, and act, and always there will be a correlative acceptance in some degree and direction of what is thus proposed. An experience is a continuing succession of such proposals and their correlative acceptances. Life thus runs.

And now the crux of the discussion on learning. These two correlative factors of proposal and acceptance in every developing experience represent exactly the creative and the fixing (or habit making) aspects of the fact of learning. We cannot learn in the fixing sense until we have proposed to ourselves something to fix. Nor will any one else's proposal suffice. It is literally true that we react only and exactly to our own reactions, not to what the other man said but to what we take him as saying, not to the blow itself but to the way we take the blow. And my proposal to myself is a creative act for me. It never happened before to me under just these conditions. Even if it seems a precise repetition of what has

gone before, it is at least different because it is a repetition. It can, of course, be a highly creative act for me without being an addition to the world's available stock of procedures. Learning then consists of the two phases, a creative proposal to myself and a fixing through acceptance of that proposal in the structure of my being.

LEARNING EFFECTS

The point of the insistence above on the fact of acceptance is that acceptance precisely effects the fixing. We learn (in the habit-making sense and phase) what we accept. We learn it at once, then and there, and in the degree that we accept it. If we accept it as highly significant for action, we so learn it. If we accept it as of small moment, better forgot than remembered, we so learn it. If we accept it as useful under certain and such circumstances, we learn it with exactly these same limitations.

If there is any "law of learning," it is this. We learn our reactions; only our reactions, and all our reactions, and we learn them in the degree and with the conditions and limitations with which we respectively accept them.

To fix these ideas let's go back to Henry and the birdhouse. As he looked at the birdhouse that George had made, with the birds coming and going and the nest of eggs—as he saw these things, he was much moved. The reacting thought came thus deeply motivated, "I too could make one." And while he thus thought, proposal was transformed into acceptance. "I will make one, and I will hang it in our tree at home." And as he thought still further, the idea of the class project came and he accepted that also as in fact a rounding out of his own project. Now he has become a different boy. Acceptance has committed him. He has moved on to the next stage, to tell others and prepare to carry out this project. The Henry

of this accepted stage is in sober fact a different boy from the Henry who first saw George's handiwork, and it is this specific acceptance that made him different. His proposal, by the fact of acceptance, was actually built then and there into the structure of his being. Thinking about it and talking about it—and later on acting it out—these things bring new thought connections and new details of plan to fill out the original proposal. But in it all Henry is in significant respects a new boy. For one thing he now has a cause that grips him, that exacts a certain line of conduct from him, that makes him think and feel and value and act differently from formerly.

Let it be kept firmly in mind that it is learning that we are discussing. These changes in Henry are learned changes. They arose out of his life as possible ways of further living. They were accepted by him as his way of living, and so accepted they were built into structure, into the organic structure of his being. As so joined with what of structure was previously there, they constitute more than a mere additive increase as a child might put another block on the pile he is building. This addition involves the boy's whole being, and this in the degree that it was stirred at the time. Acceptance means the acceptance of the then reaction entire—thinking, feeling, impulse, bodily movement, glandular discharge—all the phases of the whole organic structure and all in the degree stirred. It is difficult then, perhaps impossible, to draw a line between the old structure and the new addition. The new is the old stirred, in this instance in considerable degree, but along a live line. The new is the whole old in some measure made new.

When Henry went back home, he studied the tree outside his window with new interest. As he thought of the school workshop with its lumber and its tools, his drawings moved on closer to the stage of actual becoming. Teacher and class-

mates also took on new interest. He must make them his allies. Talking itself became a somewhat different thing, it was now more serious, he must be sure of his points, and what he would say must be said clearly and persuasively. Lumber assumed a new place in his life, he must find the right kind, not only for his own birdhouse but for all that the others would build.

As he thus thought, and talked, and reasoned, and planned, and sawed, and fitted, and nailed—as he did all these things—any step that succeeded was accepted as satisfactory and so learned. And the degree of his own concern determined the degree of satisfaction felt at success and so determined in like measure the degree of acceptance and accordingly the degree of learning. It is always so. The degree of concern will thus affect learning: the movements which help that they be learned in like degree positively, the movements which fail that they be learned in the same degree negatively. This is the doctrine of interest as restated in this newer terminology.

Because Henry is genuinely and deeply interested, he puts heart and soul into what he does. He carries it with him wherever he goes. Eye and ear and brain and hand are thereby readier to see and hear and think and act along the line of his interest. When he is at work at his interest, he will not easily be diverted to other things, his interest makes him unready to give up its affairs. Readiness and un readiness acting thus together bring concentration of effort. And effort goes farther. If while working along the line of his interest, Henry should strike a difficulty, then his interest in the degree that it is present and strong will on the inside make him wish to put forth stronger efforts. This is John Dewey's famous "reconciliation" of interest and effort, they are but two names for the same organic tendency to push ahead. That year of 1895 still speaks to us with the same clarity and the same convincingness.

SOME FURTHER MATTERS OF LEARNING

To round out this discussion of learning, it is necessary to take position on some further matters more commonly discussed in the psychology books.

Is forgetting a fact? Or do things once learned stay learned forever? It requires neither extended observation nor argument to show that we do "forget." Everyone so knows of his own experience. The "better" anything has been learned the longer it "sticks", but it appears to be true that most learned items gradually drop more or less out of probable recall and use unless they are kept alive by continued use. This is not to say that all trace of them ever goes, though practically that often seems the case. It is very probable that nothing ever once learned is ever thereafter altogether quite lost. As James said it¹ "Nothing we ever do is, in strict literalness, wiped out." As discussed earlier, we are most interested in being able to recall whatever we have when the need arises. This seems to be a matter of forming many meaning connections, so that any item will have many chances of being recalled, but even so unless the connections are kept alive by use, they will as a rule gradually grow less effective.

Does repetition help learning? Or is that simply one of the old-fashioned ideas no longer accepted? Is there or is there not a real place for drill? Several questions are here involved. Let us begin with drill. Two kinds of things are included under this common term, one for such learning as a new tennis stroke where at the beginning one cannot make the stroke, the other for such learning as memorizing, say, a telephone number. For the latter we can already say the words, but we cannot rely on ourselves to remember what to say. The first kind, that of learning the new tennis stroke, is not properly

¹ William James, *Talks to Teachers* (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1899), p. 78

drill (that is, it is not mere repetition). It requires repeated but *varied* efforts until we contrive, largely by trial and error, the particular combination of nerve and muscle movements which will give us the stroke. This kind then requires not simply a repetition of the first movement, if only that were done, the desired new stroke would never be learned. A new and complex movement has to be contrived by many varied efforts, and this will usually take prolonged "practice."

As to the other kind of drill, that of ordinary repetition of what one can already do, several things have to be said. First, it appears that in many, perhaps most instances of learning repetition helps (within limits) to strengthen the learning. However it also appears that mere repetition, for example, without knowledge of how well one is succeeding, will not teach. One must at least know how well one is succeeding and, apparently, must have at least some will to learn. Second, it seems very certain that on the whole the more one is concerned to learn (short of too painful solicitude), the quicker and the stronger is the learning, that is, the less of drill is necessary. Third, it seems also true that the more one already knows about the matter being learned, so as to have, as it were, a place waiting to store it in or a scheme within which to connect it, the easier and quicker is the learning, the less of mere drill is necessary.

Does the discussion of learning here given have a place for conditioning and trial-and-error learning? Or does it deny these as facts? The answer is clear. This view of learning admits these as true types of learning, but conceives them as it were at the low end of a scale of which more conscious learning is the high end. And they follow, though in reduced degree, the same principles of learning above discussed. In conditioning, for example, Pavlov's dog itself selected the smell of the savory meat and the ringing of the bell as to it the two most significant features of the experience. And it learned the

bell as sign of the meat only as it "believed" the bell did mean meat. When the meat was not forthcoming sufficiently often, the conditioning lapsed. In other words, the dog learned in the degree he accepted. Pure trial and error is perhaps as nearly mechanical as any kind of learning. Any insight that accompanies by just so much reduces the time of learning. But it appears that the time and practice necessary for trial and error learning is used in establishing slowly what to notice. This low grade of noticing seems to be as far as the animal can go under the given conditions in establishing significance. It is the factor of significance that from top to bottom of the scale underlies the connection we call learning. We of this book are, however, more interested in the higher types of learning because we believe them more significant in human living.

What is the effect of coercion on learning? Does it help or hinder? We speak here of coercion in contrast with action that one if left to himself would choose. A parent or teacher coerces a child into doing what, if left to himself, he would not do, by presenting the child with a choice of evils, a lesser evil (as the child sees it) which his elder wishes him to undertake, and a greater evil to make the child prefer the lesser evil. In this sense, the child may *choose* the lesser evil, but he chooses it as (to him) an evil and therefore he will not be wholehearted about what he does. His heart and mind are very likely to stray to what he himself would prefer, and he may feel resentment on account of the coercion. As was said above, we learn our reactions, all of them and in the degree we accept them. The child, then, who is coerced into learning say to spell certain words will as a rule not accept the correct spelling in the same degree as if he himself wished to spell them. His learning therefore will not be as strong. We learn, moreover, all our reactions. If this child feels resentment at the coercion, he learns this reaction of resentment along with

the spelling He may accordingly build an attitude against spelling, against school, against books, and against the teacher. It is exceedingly probable that very many of our people have from this repellent sort of teaching built exactly such attitudes. The spelling or the reading or the writing or the arithmetic or the algebra are in themselves less well learned than they might be with the probabilities also that some or all of these adverse attitudes are built.

We may sum up this more immediate discussion on learning by saying that zestful purposeful living, in the degree that it is present, seems to make best for learning. The aim or purpose supplies or, perhaps better, constitutes such a drive as carries the learner along under his own steam. He is already interested, he will put forth efforts. Hindrances and failures, if not too great, will but spur to greater efforts. A correlative readiness for whatever helps and a like unreadiness for distracting enticements bring concentration. In a word, the stronger the purpose, the more wholehearted will one be in his efforts, the more thoroughly will the self be involved, and the further reaching therefore will be the learning. Also the stronger the purpose, the more significant will be success or failure, and therefore the stronger the acceptance accordingly the stronger will be the learning. Still further, the stronger the purpose, the less of division of self will there be, the less chance therefore will there be for adverse attitudes to be built in connection and the better integrated the lesson becomes. In one word, the more purposeful the experience, the better is the learning.

LIVING AND LEARNING

By using a different set of terms we may perhaps helpfully conclude the chapter with a restatement of its main thesis.

We have seen that we learn our reactions and this in the

degree that we accept them. But we cannot accept a reaction until and as we *live* it. This verb *to live* has possibilities that we wish to explore. Consider these illustrative sentences taken (with spelling modernized) from the Oxford Dictionary together with the dates of their occurrence: (1542) "Not only love but also live the gospel", (1650) "Words not so much to be read as lived", (1874) "To live poetry, indeed is always better than to write it."

The verb *to live* in the sense above illustrated includes both the reaction and the acceptance of it as our way of living. We learn then what we live, really and at bottom live, and we learn it in the degree that we live it, and we learn it with the limitations and conditions with which we accepted it as our way of living. And what we learn we build thereby at once into soul structure, into character, into the very constitution of one's being.

This may seem a small change from what has already been said, but it allows us to connect the fact of learning very directly with the quality of living. If we learn what we live and build what we learn at once into soul structure, the quality of what we live becomes all important, nay, becomes the one important thing for education to consider. Emerson had this living-learning in mind when he said that "he who does a good deed is instantly ennobled." He could just as well have said that he who does an evil deed, and accepts that as his way of living, is instantly degraded.

So our one and inclusive concern for our pupils becomes henceforth that they shall live the kind of lives worthy to be built at once into character, worthy to be made permanent as they thereafter live out what they have so lived and learned. It is a solemn thought, perhaps the most solemn of all thoughts, that our children are day by day spinning their fates which are never to be wiped out. But, of course, if this has its dark side, it has also a bright side.

Our problem of learning is thus fundamentally changed from what most teachers think. Instead of thinking of subject-matter that it get learned, or even perhaps primarily of learning at all that it shall go on, we must think first of living, of the worthy quality of living and how we may somehow encourage it, how we who are in charge may so condition present living that it will sprout forth that finer living. For our children will learn, necessarily will learn, what they live. Specifically, they will learn and build into enduring soul structure the very quality of the lives they live, both while they are with us and while they are away from us. And we must not be deceived in such matters. Our children learn the very inmost heart of what they themselves intend. In this it holds of life as has been said of mercy, that its quality is not strained. We cannot compel another how he should live. The life that is learned springs up from within, freely, of itself. What we as parents and teachers can do becomes thus further limited. We must encourage life, but we cannot compel it. This is a hard saying and many will not hear it, and some go astray who think they hear it. We must stimulate, encourage, suggest, perhaps even in extreme cases forbid, but we must know that in the end it is the lives our children at bottom choose to live and themselves approve that they will learn and build into character. We must uphold standards, perhaps chiefly in ourselves as examples, but also in them. It is, however, only as they build and accept standards for themselves that they learn standards. And the process of growth will likely be gradual. All ideals so come. We must be patient, but never indifferent. In final sum, we must somehow help our youth so to live that the quality of life itself shall be good and lead on fruitfully to other and finer living. How each one does this—that it is which for him builds his individuality. Thus do life, learning, and individuality go always hand in hand together. And it is the quality of the living that counts.

Part IV

THE LIFE AND PROGRAM OF THE SCHOOL

We come now to the stupendous problem of building from our creative resources a new school appropriate to the new day

First, in Chapter XIV, we shall see the school in overview, as it might be in the very near future; as it might be *now* in fact, if talented, courageous, and far-seeing educators will only organize the best of what is now known in theory and practice into going school programs

Following the broad overview of Chapter XIV we discuss in the succeeding chapters various aspects of the practical problem of curriculum development

In Chapter XV, our basic problem of designing the curriculum. In Chapter XVI, guidance conceived as the operation of the whole educative process.

In Chapter XVII, the practical problems of administration.

Finally in Chapter XVIII, promising efforts in curriculum development now in process under both public and private auspices.

therefore, to bear constantly in mind the newer connotation with which we speak, in page after page of *School*

Another aside must be written. The reader will not find in any single American community today a completely established School as herein described carrying forward simultaneously all the varied activities depicted. The specific activities listed in this chapter, however, have actually been achieved or are now under development in American communities. For the most part footnotes will give the documentation. It should be noted that many of these specific aspects of our coordinating School are at present under the direction of non-school auspices in the communities where they have been developed. Such a fact further adds to the validity of our argument that the School is not to be thought of as merely the traditional school with a narrowly conceived sphere of influence, but rather our School is an integrating and coordinating agency—a new species in the configuration of community agencies and institutes.

THE ENLARGED PURPOSES OF THE SCHOOL

Turning to an analysis of this new community agency which we are calling *A School for Individual and Community Development*, we note first several general characteristics. This new School is tax-supported, and its services are free to all citizens. The services of the School are designed to promote *development of the individual* from conception until death. This development is thought of in the broadest terms as including all phases of growth—psychological, physical, and spiritual. Simultaneously the School serves as the community's instrument through which the conditions essential for a *more adequate life* are progressively achieved. Better community health, improved recreation facilities, adequate housing, more

beautiful physical environment, more efficient industrial and agricultural practices to provide a higher economic standard of living—in fact, any and all problems of concern to the community as a whole are brought to the School for study and proposals are made for solutions.

The staff consists of specialists in all the areas of human affairs—physicians, psychologists, psychiatrists, pediatricians, homemakers, teachers, engineers, architects, economists, political scientists, sociologists, artists, craftsmen, recreation directors, and all others whose services are essential in assisting individuals and the community in intelligent and continuous growth.

To illustrate the working of such a School three phases are presented following (1) the work involved in the development of an individual throughout his life-span, (2) its functioning in community improvement, and (3) the framework of the curriculum of the School

1. THE NEW SCHOOL AND INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

The School makes its first contribution to the development of the individual before conception. Young people receive instruction at the School concerning the reproduction of life.¹ The relation of physical and mental health of the parents to the problem of conception is shown, the problem of spacing children is considered, the economic and social prerequisites for bringing children into the world are studied, no aspect of eugenics is overlooked in preparing for parenthood. The staff of specialists work with groups of young people at that time

¹ The public schools of Bronxville, New York, and Winnetka, Illinois, have for some time included such instruction for secondary-school pupils. Many schools are introducing similar work. Of course these secondary schools do not develop as many of the technical aspects of the subject as would the School in its work with young people just married or about to be married.

when the problem of marriage and children is uppermost in their minds and assist these citizens in setting the best possible conditions for the creation of life.

After the child is conceived the staff of the School becomes more active in working with the particular problems faced by each set of parents. A physician consults frequently with the mother concerning her physical condition—her diet, her exercise, her relaxation. The father is not ignored, for his understanding of his wife's problem is essential if she is to be given the optimum assistance during this critical and difficult period of pregnancy. As the time of birth approaches specialists of the School discuss with the parents the physical requirements for the coming baby—nursery, clothing, food, daily routine, etc. The School takes as its legitimate responsibility anything it can do to insure the most favorable conditions for conception, prenatal growth, birth, and development immediately following birth. Parents look upon the School as a source of information and guidance wherein they can obtain the best help in bringing their child into this world.

Following birth an infant needs the close observation and care of specialists, particularly the pediatrician. During the infant's first year many habit and attitude patterns are set. Parents come to the School to gain expert advice from the specialists in directing the infant in establishing desirable habits and attitudes. The specialists suggest routine of family life best suited to the capacity and maturity of the individual infant. Problems perplexing to the parents are analyzed in the School by parents and staff and suggested solutions worked out.

THE NURSERY PERIOD

When the child reaches the second birthday, the parents may wish to place him with a group of children where his

"social education" will be carried on in a more organized manner than is possible in most homes. For all parents who desire such opportunities for their children the School provides group education during the ages from two to six.¹ This School "nursery school" supervises the physical, emotional, intellectual, and social development of these early childhood years. Part of each day is spent in a well constructed and adequately equipped plant where groups of children live together and explore their inviting environment under expert teachers. Teachers select with great care the type of environment in which children play and live together with the greatest promise of developing worthwhile interests and purposes. Particular attention is given to developing abilities and attitudes of coöperating with the group in play and work. A start is made in developing the simpler concepts and relationships of life.

The parents use the nursery school as a clinic in which they observe the responses of their child as he lives with other children in the same age group.² Teachers and parents consult frequently and together agree upon ways of directing the growth of each child. Parents carry over into the home as much of the advice of the experts as they believe is pertinent to the care of the child in the home environment. Thus the School serves as a laboratory where each parent couple may take a child for clinical study and in addition the parents delegate to the School part of the actual daily care of the child in larger social groups of his own age.

¹ Among the groups now providing such opportunities are the Yale Clinic of Child Development, the Dalton School and the Walt Whitman School of New York City and the many WPA nursery-school projects throughout the nation.

² See references previously cited. Also the Child Development Institute of Teachers College has done considerable work with parents in observing their own children. Further, the recent survey of education for the State of New York recommends the establishment of school opportunities for four-year-old children as well as five-year-olds.

THE GENERAL EDUCATION PERIOD

When the child reaches the age of six or seven, the appropriate age to be determined for each child through careful analysis by the School, he is ready for a more varied and elaborate series of experiences.¹ If his nursery-school and home experiences have been well selected and guided, he is already reaching out to explore people and things and ideas beyond his own immediate concern. He is eager to investigate his neighborhood in a more mature manner—to discover what his neighbors do to carry on the vast number of human activities which are of deep interest to him. As he grows older year by year, experience by experience, he reaches out beyond the neighborhood to community, state, nation, and world, he reaches out in space beyond the limits of possible direct first-hand contact. Similarly, he reaches out in time—he reaches forward and speculates about his own youth and manhood; he reaches in the other direction to the childhood of his parents; he pushes his horizon back toward the beginning of human life, even back toward the creation of earth, universe, and energy systems. During the period from nursery school to early manhood he continuously and rapidly expands the boundaries of his known world until it encompasses a range from the microscopic life in a drop of water to the telescopic realms of stars in the heavens, from the simplest forms of social organization to the vast complexes of modern social, economic, and political life, from the crudest expressions in esthetics to the highly refined masterpieces of the great cultures of the world. He learns about his own organism and its proper functioning in its many physical and psychological manifestations. He comes to see himself as a member of sev-

¹ Henry Harap, editor, *The Changing Curriculum* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937). Contains descriptions of public-school curricula designed to meet such objectives.

eral small and intimate groups, within larger groups, in turn within still larger social configurations. He sees humans related to the flora and fauna of a region, he sees the rôle natural resources, climate, customs, tools, institutions, and value systems have in shaping human life and the influence, in turn, man has in changing or modifying these external conditions. He understands the methods of social change and thinks of himself as a participant in controlled change.

The new School faces a tremendously complex and significant task of taking the child at the end of the nursery period and exposing him during the ensuing twelve or fourteen years to a series of selected environments for the purpose of arousing in him curiosities about these aforementioned phenomena. Out of these aroused curiosities the teachers of the School assist the pupil in formulating purposes, the achievement of which will involve those experiences which make the well developed personality. This period of rapidly expanding horizons extends from the end of the nursery until the individual is well along in his general education and is ready to enter directly upon a trade or professional education. The selection of the career education period grows naturally out of the earlier general education and is not to be thought of as a sharp break between the two.

For these important years of individual development the new School has at its service the entire range of activities within the community.¹ The School is housed in a physical plant with many of the characteristics of modern elementary and secondary schools, particularly the laboratories, the shops, the studios, the libraries, and work rooms of the present school are found in the new School. But the School also has its stations or branches in every enterprise in the community.

¹ Samuel Everett, editor, *The Community School* (New York, D Appleton-Century Co., 1938). Contains descriptions of public schools' use of the environmental materials.

Or to state it another way, every community organization and establishment has membership in the School, and they consider how the educative experience present in the organization or establishment can be made available to each child and youth in the community. The wholesale and retail dealers, for illustration, have educational sections where children under the general direction of the School may come at planned intervals to observe the activities peculiar to these community enterprises. From time to time opportunities are made for children and youth actually to participate in the work of distributing the goods of our modern economy. Not child labor exploited in such a manner that other workers are denied gainful employment, but children and youth working side by side with expert adults at those tasks which give so vivid a concept of how the work of the modern world is done.

Similarly the farm and the dairy are part of the instructional program of the School.¹ Each child has at least a summer on a farm where he may follow the seasonal activities of seeding, cultivating, irrigating, and harvesting. The basic relations of obtaining raw materials from the soil and processing them are thus understood. Our dependence on green plants is part of his developing insight. The effect of seasons on human affairs is witnessed. The School organizes the educational experiences for children and youth so that a carefully selected and intelligently supervised farm participation is the right of every individual.

Consider another instance as illustrative. In the area of production of mechanical power, the School organizes the educative sections of the utilities and fuel industries in order that the pupils may view first-hand the methods by which we transform forces and matter into work energy. Oil fields, pipe

¹ The Ethical Culture School of New York City maintains such a farm for its pupils.

lines, and refineries, hydroelectric power plants¹ and transmission lines, coal mines, coke plants, and steam power plants—these and more are thought of as a part of the instructional material of the School Industry cooperates in building accident-proof suspended overhead walks and “bay windows” projecting into the very center of pulsating mines and factories.² Under the careful supervision of teachers and guides, the children and youth are shown the innermost workings of modern technology. They feel the throb of power machinery; they hear the din and rhythm of the factory, they smell the stinging of gases and the odor of ozone, they see the vast movement of an assembly line as it adds piece to piece to make an automobile,³ or a book, they experience movement in modern transportation,⁴ they taste the sweetness of raw sugar or the oily juice from the cotton-seed press, they feel, see, hear, taste, and smell life in the making.

Not only do industry, agriculture, transportation, communication, commerce, social and governmental agencies cooperate with the School in providing opportunities to *observe* life in the making, but wherever physically safe and not economically unsound provision is also made to have pupils become active *participants* in the processes. Thus the School serves as the coordinating agency in our culture, being charged with the responsibility of organizing the educative aspects of

¹ The Federal Government has maintained an educational section of the construction project of the Grand Coulee Dam. Here thousands of school children are brought to see the actual construction and the models of “before” and “after.”

² The Ford Motor Company maintains at the Dearborn plant a guide service for school pupils.

³ During recent “world fairs” in this country the large motor corporations have provided demonstration of their assembly lines. These demonstrations are so organized that a class of pupils can see clearly the processes.

⁴ Air, rail, and water transportation companies in most communities are eager to have school children observe. Again “world fairs” have done outstanding work in organizing exhibits of transportation facilities.

community life in such a manner that children and youth may have the full benefit of direct observation and participation to the end that the individual may be developed to the fullest of his ability

PERIOD OF CAREER EDUCATION

When the individual is ready to concentrate on his trade or professional education, the School stands ready to induct him effectively. The School has already made an analysis of occupational opportunity and introduces the student to these facts and provides guidance in making a choice of a career. If his chosen career is in the professions, the School offers some of the preparatory work leading to the university where the more strictly professional study is carried on. For those individuals who are entering non-professional pursuits the School has a close association with the crafts and trades which makes possible a coordinated program of alternating study and practice.¹ No theoretical material is given until the individual has had sufficient personal contact with his chosen career to arrive inductively at a felt need for firmer footing; then back to the laboratory, library, lecture hall, and close association with the instructors of fundamental theory. This alternation of practical and theoretical experience continues until the School's field supervisors and instructors in theory are convinced that the individual can carry forward continuous advancement in his trade primarily under his own drive and supervision.

ADULT EDUCATION

The School has not, however, entirely fulfilled its obligation for the development of the individual when he is en-

¹ Antioch College has pioneered in developing such an educational program. Many other schools are now experimenting with similar methods.

gaged in full-time employment in home, shop, field, office, studio, or when he is enrolled in a professional school. The School through its adult department stands ready to serve him at any time in bettering himself.¹ A previous section of this chapter indicated the manner in which the School assists parents in rearing their children. Other adults are eager to push back the limits of their knowledge and explore new areas. The School through its studio, laboratories, shops, libraries, and lecture halls offers the opportunity for continuous study and enrichment of personality. For those interested in discussion of current problems or in enjoying music, art, literature, drama, and other general arts, the School offers a program. The community conceives of the School as a place where the guidance of a trained and stimulating staff is ready to assist the individual in carrying forward any personal or vocational interest or need he cares to pursue. No member of the community is too old or too young, too learned or too ignorant to use the facilities of the community School.

Thus we have sketched the School as serving in one of its two major functions—the development of the individual in terms of a well rounded personality. The expert personnel of the School aids in the beginnings of the life of the individual by stressing the eugenic and medical phases of being well-born, the staff of the School assists parents in the rearing of the infant, through its nursery school it provides the beginnings of social education and serves as a clinic where parents may study the development of their child, it provides the general educative experiences for all children and youth from the nursery period until the individual is ready to prepare specifically for a life career, then the School supervises the practical and theoretical training for entrance into pro-

¹ John Studebaker, *The American Way* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935) Describes the experiments (particularly in Des Moines) in adult education. The American Association for Adult Education has pioneered in this field of education.

ductive life, finally, it provides opportunity for continuous self-improvement or enjoyment to all citizens throughout their life-span.

II. THE SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

We will now focus our discussion on the second function of the School—that of *community development*. Modern research has demonstrated that changes in human affairs are partly the result of what *we* do. There was a time not so far distant when we relied upon supernatural powers to direct the daily course of events, and because these happenings were under the sole direction of some power outside ourselves we took a fatalistic attitude toward disease, famine, poverty, slums, and related phenomena that were detrimental to our welfare.

A new conception is developing in our modern world which looks at change as subject to control by human thought and will. We know that we have the natural resources, the manpower and mechanical power to turn and direct our vast productive equipment of ingenious machines, and we have the engineering and managerial skill to organize the agricultural and industrial systems for continuous and capacity production. We know that the rational maintenance and improvement of this system need not be dependent upon chance and drift or the classical laws of economics, but upon our determination to use our resources—natural, human, and technical—to satisfy our human needs. Elimination of poverty, slums, illness, famine, and a host of similar “man-made” problems can be solved relatively soon if we use science and reason in organizing a set of social, economic, and political rules and regulations suited to the demands of our new technological age.

What agency in the community shall be given the responsibility for thus serving our common ends? What organization shall the democratic community establish to function as the

laboratory in which community problems are studied and possible solutions proposed for the consideration and action of the citizens.¹ In this volume the committee takes a position that the School as herein conceived serves the community in this capacity. It is the best housed, the best equipped, the best staffed, and most adequately financed of all the community agencies. Being responsible to the people at large, it is quickly responsive to needs as they arise in the community. In fact, the School serves as the "feelers" for the community and continually scouts out those problems which may yet not be sufficiently widespread to cause general community concern. It is granted that there are numerous other agencies in the community, public and private, which also have programs of social service. The School does not replace all of these groups but rather serves as a coordinating factor. It differs from the general run of social service agencies to the degree that its program is all inclusive rather than particular. It serves to integrate all the separate efforts.

Thus, the School is thought of as the community's organ of social sensitivity and as a laboratory to which citizens bring common problems for solution. The purposes may be summed up as "community development."

URBAN COMMUNITY SURVEY AS INITIAL STEP

In *urban communities* the School functions typically as follows. The staff takes the initiative in discovering the state of affairs of the community in all types of human activity. On the staff are experts in sociological survey who are able to make as searching an analysis of the community as the Lynds made of Middletown.¹ The School gives opportunity to chil-

¹ Paul R. Hanna, *Youth Serves the Community* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936). Describes projects done by schools in community survey. Samuel Everett, editor, *The Community School* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1938). Also describes similar projects.

dren, youth, and adults to participate in the fact-gathering phases of the survey. In the program of general education much of the classroom and laboratory work consists of working over the data collected in the survey. Children and youth find a vast amount of statistical work to be done, they meet problem-solving situations in designing tables and charts to record and report summaries of findings, they need a great deal of facility in oral and written expression as the data are studied and reported to the public, the work involves techniques of study and general work habits—all these phases are essential to the educational program of the School as the survey progresses. Continuous analysis and reporting to the public by radio, press, public forums, exhibits of data, and dramatizations of findings, challenge the children, youth, and adults who are enrolled in the School.

Out of the survey findings comes a period of intensive community evaluation of the status of local affairs. Comparative studies with other communities show strengths and weaknesses.¹ The use of public forums, the pulpit, press, radio, clubs, and all other channels for democratic participation in policy-making results in a list of shortages in community welfare that should be attacked directly.

PROJECT OF COMMUNITY BEAUTIFICATION

For example, the survey may clearly disclose the lack of physical beauty and charm resulting from too little attention given to zoning laws, public parks and gardens, the landscaping of public buildings and private family dwellings, etc. The School focuses on the need and desirability of community action to improve the conditions. If sufficient community approval can be generated, the School then turns to designing

¹ The John Marshall High School of Minneapolis has made comparative community surveys for several years.

plans of action.¹ Who formulates these plans of action? The children, youth, and adults attending the School actually create the plans and propose them to the public. If acceptable to the community, the student body of the School again plays the leading rôle. Principles of zoning are drawn up and presented to the civic authorities for consideration. Public parks, playgrounds, and recreation centers are planned in terms of the preferences of the community, availability of sites, climate, financial resources, etc. The School carries on a long-range program of discussion and education in order that the policies may be widely understood, and it is done largely through the students' activities. In the writing classes the students prepare bulletins and press releases. Students portray by posters, murals, models, and diagrams the reorganized and landscaped "city beautiful." Dramatizations created and produced by students show what the increased efficiency and beauty would mean to all the citizens of the community. Further, when public opinion has crystallized into a decision for action, the School students take the lead in starting the landscaping of private dwellings and public parks and highways. A nursery for experimental work with native and imported plants and shrubs demonstrates what is possible.² Sufficient quantities of new stock are produced here for use along highways and around public buildings. The public comes to the nursery for observation and instruction in gardening.

Much of the actual work of planting and some of the care of public gardens are done by the students. Again, caution is exercised that this does not develop into exploitation of child

¹ In Santa Barbara, California, a community project of beautification a number of years ago is largely responsible for the fact that Santa Barbara has for several years won national recognition for being one of the most beautiful cities in America.

² Again in Santa Barbara the city schools have for years contributed to the improvement of plant life in public places as well as training gardeners and landscape workers.

labor. This socially useful work occupies a small share of the student's time and energy from early adolescence through the period of general education, and participation may continue throughout active life if so desired by the individual.

The School over a period of a decade is able to point to convincing objective evidence that the community is far more beautiful, that life is lived more effectively because of the planned growth under new zoning ordinances and because of the care given to landscaping highways, public buildings, and residential areas, etc. Community consciousness will prohibit unsightly buildings, refuse heaps or unbeautified vacant lots. The city becomes known far and wide for its beauty.

COMMUNITY HOUSING PROJECT

Another shortage of our urban community discovered by the survey is likely to be in the housing facilities. The School organizes study groups in which the problems of housing are discussed.¹ The survey report shows a direct correlation between poor housing and high crime rate and high rate of disease. The effects of poor housing on other values in the neighborhood are obvious from the data.² A canvas of housing projects in other cities demonstrates how these social and economic ills are lessened when the community attacks the rehousing of its citizens.

The problem of housing is jointly studied by the School and all other agencies of the community interested in housing. Under the scholarly and expert supervision of the staff the students plan a long-term educational program designed to make the community conscious of the benefits to be had by housing projects. The sociological relations, the economic factors, and

¹ Hanna, *op cit*. Describes several projects on housing done by children and youth.

² With the boys of economically depressed areas of Cleveland Henry Harap reports interesting results of a study of housing.

the health problems are clearly and forcefully presented to the public. As community opinion is built in favor of a housing program the School through its classes in regional planning, architecture, finance, etc., keeps the press, radio, and public forums supplied with concrete proposals for action. The students take the major responsibility for keeping the project moving forward toward community action (As the project gets under way many adults enroll in the School work in order to understand better and contribute to the community housing plans.)

When construction work has actually begun, the project offers ample opportunity for the students to participate in the labor. Some students have apprenticeship experiences with the building trade and crafts; others participate in apprenticeship relations in the preparation and supervision of construction schedules. As the construction proceeds classes study materials and processes. In the laboratories they test insulations, they experiment with a variety of methods of lighting and heating, they test synthetic materials and compare them with natural construction materials. Classes follow the financing of the project. Others study the changes that the new houses may have on the life of families who will occupy them upon completion.

This problem offers opportunities for each student to assist families in properly furnishing the new homes and in reorganizing family attitudes and habits, thus increasing the possibility of their living happily in the new surroundings. Classes in home furnishings and interior decoration take possession of one of the new houses and completely furnish it in keeping with the income of the family which is to occupy it.¹

Textiles, pottery, furniture, and other furnishings are made by the students in the shops and studios of the School Care-

¹ Public School No. 78 in the Bronx, New York City, has conducted a similar project in connection with the Hillside Housing Development,

ful records are kept of the materials, processes, and the costs. These records are duplicated for distribution to those families who may care to furnish their own homes in a similar manner. When the "model" home has been furnished and completed, ready to be shown to the public, the students organize a series of educational programs to call the attention of the prospective renters in the new housing development to the attractive and inexpensive homes that are possible with study and work. As families move into their new quarters the School students demonstrate for them a variety of home techniques appropriate to living in modern houses.

Thus the School serves as the fountainhead, as the creative brain of a community—coordinating other community agencies in surveying, evaluating, planning, and carrying to the public ideas and plans of action for community development.¹ The work is done by those citizens of the community who have the interest and ability to enter into the various enterprises. The staff is constantly at work in a dual capacity—as citizens of the community and therefore personally concerned, together with all other citizens, in the improvement of the community, and as experts contributing their skill and insight to the statement of the problem and to its rational solution.

THE SCHOOL IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

In *rural communities*, likewise, the School is responsible for a cyclical survey. The work of surveying is undertaken by the citizens of the area, the tasks being performed primarily by the younger age groups who are enrolled.² One problem

¹ The public schools of Dowagiac, Michigan, are initiating this year a comprehensive plan of community development that involves the cooperation of several agencies in the state and the establishment of a local coordinating agency.

² Hanna, *op cit*. Describes several projects of surveys of rural communities by school groups. Also describes projects in which children and youth coop-

of universal concern to rural areas is the improvement of agricultural practices. The School maintains experimental acres for finding or creating new crops more suited to the soil and climate, and more in demand by the local and wider community markets. The research in plants is carried on by the students under the guidance of the staff. As new varieties are found to be successful, the students arrange for their general introduction on the farms where there is a desire to try the new crops. The students supervise the work of the farmers in remaking their farm practices to harmonize with the demands of the new crops.

The same is true of farm animals. The School experiments with different breeds, compares feeds and routine, in short constantly works to improve the quality and quantity of farm produce.

The economic phases of buying and marketing are studied by the students. Cooperative purchasing of seed, fertilizers, machinery, fuels, and other farm necessities results. On the marketing side, likewise, cooperative action brings benefits to all concerned.

Closely allied to farm practices is the problem of soil and water conservation.¹ The School investigates the status of the water tables, soil erosion, and related problems. As the students become aware of the basic nature of the problems many subsidiary inquiries unfold. Historical analysis discloses the fate of many previous cultures which flourished and waned because they were not able to control soil and water resources.

erating with adults actually improved the agricultural practices in the community

¹ The Senior High School of Sacramento, California, has been experimenting with a study of soil and water conservation in their valley. Junior-high-school students in Montevaldo, Alabama, built dams and planted grass on the soil thus saved. Recently there have been created many Regional and State Planning Commissions which are attacking the many problems of national development of resources. These enterprises would surely be a part of the School's work.

Scientific analysis indicates that at the present rate of "run off" and wind erosion the fertile top soil will maintain only one more generation of farmers. Experimentation demonstrates that small check dams on "little waters," careful cultivation of fields, keeping slopes covered with vegetation, and similar practices can radically decrease and even check erosion. As the students of the School experiment in the laboratory and on the hills and fields, and as they read and carry on research in the library, they formulate conclusions and plans of action for the community. These plans of action are presented to the citizens for their study. Eventually the community becomes aroused to the urgent necessity for action and calls on the School to take the leadership in reforestation, building check dams, keeping channels open, redesigning crop rotation, etc. A generation of such leadership by the School will result in drastic modification of farming practices to the end that agriculture may be successfully carried on in this community by the grandchildren and great grandchildren of those who first as students in the School initiate this program of conservation.

These concrete descriptions of the manner in which the new School functions in *community development* complement the function of *individual development*. It must be noted that the two functions are not separate and certainly not antagonistic. Surely the welfare of each individual is enhanced by the beautification of the community, by rehousing, by higher standards of living resulting from improved agricultural practices, and from the conservation of soil and water. It is impossible to work realistically for the fuller development of the individual without directly attacking the improvement of the environment in which the child and youth are nurtured.

Further, as the individual participates in socially useful work of community development he is engaging in the most

favorable experiences for his own personal development. In such cooperative and realistic enterprises he has the opportunity to formulate purposes, plan action to achieve the ends sought, carry out the plan, and judge the validity of his plan and method by the test of social approval. It is a demonstrated fact that for most people the most effective motivation is the approval of contemporaries for work done well for the social group. There is a joy in laboring for causes larger than one's own immediate ends that cannot be matched in any self-centered endeavor. The reaction of the group to the contribution made has the salutary effect of leading on to more of the same sharing.

There is no doubt that in our culture today advances in technology have outrun the corresponding advances in human relations, and as one of the results we find the educative experience of labor denied children and youth. Several million youth are today out of school and not employed. Psychology demonstrates that personality development is directly dependent on activity, on experience. For millions of our youth there are lacking these proper growth experiences. The vast reservoirs of energy dammed up in our youth need some outlet. The energy will be utilized for individually and socially destructive ends unless some modifications in our social arrangements are made toward channeling this energy in socially useful labor. Therefore as a prophylactic measure alone the School and its program of community development as herein described is a necessity, it organizes the community life in the interests of the development of the individual through projects designed to develop the community.¹

Again, the best theory of growth indicates that "study and learning" are carried on in solving the daily problems faced

¹ The work projects of the CCC and NYA are more and more recognizing the principles as here stated. The newer projects contribute both to the development of the individual and of the community.

in living. To illustrate Reading is best mastered as a tool in situations where the individual is eager to find the answer to some perplexing problem believing he will find pertinent information on the printed page. Here the focus is on "reading to learn" rather than "learning to read," and psychological research indicates that greater growth results from the former approach than from the latter. When the individual purposes to discover the fate of other cultures where soil erosion was unchecked, he is engaging in experience that will be rich in new understanding, in factual information, and in skills of reading and research. When the individual is constructing a model of the reorganized "city beautiful" he is "learning" many things—manipulative skills of handling tools and materials, art principles and techniques, social relations of environment to human living, etc. When the individual is engaged in testing insulation materials for the rehousing development, he is not only "learning" the best insulation for the particular construction job, but at the same time he is learning the meaning of the scientific method, learning many science principles of reflection, conduction, and convection, learning many related economic facts and principles. In many ways he is "learning" as he carries on life in cooperative socially useful projects under the direction of the School.

III. THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CURRICULUM

It might be implied from the foregoing description of the new School that the actual curriculum which each pupil and student followed is left entirely to the demands of individual interest or the unfolding community needs. This interpretation of a curriculum without a design more or less common for all the citizens of a culture is not intended here. There must be some assurance that as an individual progresses from the nursery years through his general education he will be ex-

posed to a selection of environments representing the wide range of human activity. A curriculum pattern that each day develops wholly out of the child's interests will lack the larger and more comprehensive design that would result from guidance of more mature experience.

We hold that a child's interests emerge from interacting with his environment. But this environment for any particular child is very sharply restricted by home and family, economic status, social group, nature of the community, etc. To follow such chance patterns of interest as the sole guides of development, ignores the larger responsibility to select more representative environments and expose pupils to them with the expectations that the resulting interaction will produce new interests and purposes.

It is obvious that good teachers have always thus enlarged the pupil's area of experience and in so doing there was some frame of reference against which the teacher checked the experiences of each pupil. But so often in the modern school the entire staff who will guide the development of any one pupil over the school period has not worked out such a frame of reference together, as a result the education of our youth has been lacking in continuity and in comprehensiveness. Only as an entire staff can agree upon common ends and then determine a broad design for accomplishing these ends will there be assurance to the individual and to society that education has provided those learning experiences at appropriate growth levels which shall cumulatively be the most enriching of all conceivable.

For such reasons as suggested, curricular workers in our School have designed broadly the scope of educational experience and experimented with patterns of sequence of experiences for the successive years from nursery school through general education. This attempt at design of curriculum along modern psychological and sociological lines has resulted in a

framework for the guidance of the staff that tends to assure the broadest contacts with life and to develop the attitudes, knowledges, and skills that are demanded by the conditions of our times.¹

To illustrate how the design of the curriculum operates to enrich the experiences which a pupil might have, imagine for a moment a school engaged in an attempt to improve the soil and water conservation work in the community. The *scope* of the design would suggest to the staff the comprehensive range of related experiences which should not be ignored in the study. The *sequence* within broad limits would suggest the types of activities more appropriate for the various age groups. The sequence would point to certain objectives toward which the activities of the various age groups might best contribute regardless of the particular project under way.

The design serves to assist the teacher in fashioning those universal concepts, skills, and attitudes which do not arise out of experience of their own accord.

IN SUMMARY

Again it must be noted that the establishment of such a *School for Individual and Community Development* as presented in this chapter is yet to be realized by any single American community. It is true that each of the aspects treated already exist in many communities. It is also true that the culture itself is moving toward a unification of many separate parts into more related wholes. The recent growth of planning commissions in states and regions is a striking illustration of the tendency to integrate human affairs. Industry has for many years moved to larger units of operation. Thus the

¹ See the illustrations of curriculum design worked out in school systems presented in Chapter XVIII, "Promising Efforts at Curricular Improvement."

School as a coordinating agency of many now existing educational institutions is in keeping with the cultural pattern

An illustration from Denmark in their Folk Schools comes nearer this concept of School than any other single example. In these Danish Folk Schools the youth have over a brief period remade the agricultural life of a nation and with it affected all other phases of life. Our School similarly serves as the major force for creating and remodeling in such areas of community life as need attention. Our School goes beyond the Danish plan to include all ages of people and all interests of the community.

The possibility of such a School is already assured in trends observable. The school people together with all citizens interested in the continual improvement of life have a challenging opportunity to understand the concept and take such action as will aid in its universal realization during the next quarter of a century

Chapter XV

DEVELOPING THE DESIGN OF THE CURRICULUM ¹

* * *

Design, in the sense of appropriate and self-consistent adaptation of means to end, is of major importance in all types of constructive and creative endeavor. Whether for the engineer or the artist, for the statesman or the teacher, there must lie back of action, to direct it, the aim or foreseen product-to-be and a controlling synthesis of principles and ideals. For the engineer the aim can be stated precisely in advance on a blueprint. For the statesman or teacher, if democracy is to rule, the end sought must be dynamic, namely the developing of personality capable of creative thinking amid future and now unforeseen contingencies. But whatever be the type of aim, design still holds, the adaptation of means to end. Without it, action is but random, and the outcomes will be dictated either by mere tradition or by opportunistic improvisation. Design bridges the gap between theory and practice, for in the evaluation of plans lies the intellectual testing of action by principle and idea. The ultimate outcome shows how well this task has been done.

AN EXAMPLE DESIGN IN THE ARTS ²

Study of the evolution of art expression shows that design moves through three stages. The first is the stage of sheer

¹ This chapter was written by Hollis L. Caswell.

² Pages 407-410 were contributed by Harold Rugg.

imitation of classic modes and their eclectic assembly into mosaics. This, as Sheldon Cheney put it, is the stage of "pickers and choosers" . . . "cultured repeaters of other men's styles" This, in our own nineteenth-century evolution, characterized the genteel tradition of the Gilded Age. It was this that Sullivan and Wright spoke out against in architecture, Isadora Duncan in the dance, Alfred Stieglitz in photography, painting and sculpture, Van Wyck Brooks, Bourne and Frank, and others, in letters and philosophy, John Dewey in education.

The second stage is marked by sincere but random and awkward attempts at improvisation. The artist "experiments," tries this theme and that, makes up this or that new form of utterance—new word forms in poetry and playwriting, new constructional material and forms in architecture, new gestures in the dance, new experimental forms in music. The process consists of an awkward fumbling after a new idea, a sort of putting down of the first unscrutinized and uncensored utterance rather than a competently designed form.

This second stage is reflected in the bulk of the arts of our times in the vaguenesses and clevernesses of hundreds of pseudo-modern painters, revealed in a fuzziness of line, an undefined use of light and shade or color, it appears to be both lack of clear vision and lack of technical competence in putting imagined conceptions into objective form. In every medium of expression today we find this kind of random and uncriticized improvisation—accepted as the completed work of art—when it really is no more than a "hunch," "first draft," just "junk," material to be worked over.

The third and highest stage in the evolution of the artist is that of achieved organic form, that is, true form achieved by "design." It is in this stage that we find the most rigorous measure of our work as artist-teachers.

The artist's task is twofold—first to clarify his grasp of life,

and second to portray it in some kind of objection. To see clearly in imagination the significant relationships that make the whole conception a unity—this constitutes the first step in the ordeal of the artist. And the second is equally important and equally difficult. It is to objectify the imagined conception. To get it stated with some kind of material, to say it, to put it down. To write it in a book or poem or play, to play it on an instrument, to paint it, to model it, to make it with tools. In education it is to build a program of living for a group of human beings.

But note how clearly this stage marks improvisation as casual, random, merely a first-step putting down of stuff. The very essence of the artist's ordeal is a ruthless comparison of the thing produced with the imagined conception, and the continuous reconstruction of the imagined conception in the light of the thing put down. Here, then, dogged self-criticism, a "divine discontent" with his product and with his vision of his work, marks the creative artist's behavior. He knows that, try as he will, most of his struggle to "say" what he "sees" will be partially abortive. Hence he schools himself to reconstruct his work continuously in the attempt to make the product a replica of his vision. Back and forth he goes from vision to objective statement, constantly re-analyzing, struggling to see more clearly and to discover new relationships, and striving to make the form of his objective product more closely approximate the new thing seen. Thus his temper is one of rigorous self-discipline, and it is revealed in his determination to "think to the bottom" and in his unwillingness to "exhibit."

But the supreme criterion applied in the process of critical appraisal is "organic form." The artist asks devastating questions: "Have I perceived the *significant relationships* between the parts of that subject? Am I putting them together so that they constitute a true unity? Does every member fit? Is each

one indispensable? Do they all, together, serve the function of the total thing?"

Every major artist for fifty years has sought this organic form and struggled to make his statement of life measure up to it. Sullivan, Wright, Duncan, Frank, Brooks, and company all searched for an answer to the question: What is it that determines the content and form of a building, a poem, a painting, a play, or other work of art? Similarly we in education must ask: What is it that determines the life and program of the new school? Is it the successful use of a classic content style, the reproduction of the current mode, the employment of standard ornament or decoration? "No," said the first great American architect, Louis Sullivan, who could speak for the whole company: "It is the function, the product, that it is to serve." Of every member of a building, of every word in a poem or prose page, of every gesture of the body, of every activity of the new school, the designer consciously designing the members of the structure asks: What is this thing to do? What is it to hold up? Exactly what shade of meaning is this phrase to convey? What mood is this gesture to evoke? What ideas and attitudes is this activity to develop? Of each one he demands: Does this inevitably belong? Is it needed? Is it indispensable? Can I find a better one?

Here is the heart of the creative process—the insistent rôle of design. The very process of organizing his imagined conception and of putting it down in objective form is *design*. The artist *designs* his utterance as the engineer builds his bridge. The educator *designs* the life and program of the school on exactly the same criteria.

We see then absolutely central to design is one insistent question. What *function* are these parts to serve? The successful answer to it will produce the unity of related parts that is of the essence of organic form. Sullivan reminds us that as he studied the enormous number and variety of forms

in the organic world, he was struck by the fact that the form always expressed its function, he summed up his study in the famous dictum that "the function creates and organizes its form."

STAGES OF DESIGN IN EDUCATION

Examination of educational programs in light of the standards set by the creative artist shows that the rank and file of our schools are still in the first stage of imitation. Tradition, unexamined, defines the program in all too many respects. And even our most advanced schools are still in the stage of improvisation. It started in them a generation ago and is still characteristic of their programs. Except in a few schools and a very few classrooms, truly creative form has never been achieved. After twenty—yes, forty—years we are still trying this unit of work, that center of interest. We create new correlated organizations of work in place of the formal stereotyped subjects. As with other artists, our honesty is not impeached. We are sincere and we have faith. We have engaged in a whole generation of fine improvisation and we work hard; yet, we fall far short of achieving a truly designed organic plan of education.

In curriculum development the evolving of a dynamic design is one of the most important of all problems. Failure to achieve it is in large measure accountable for the great gap between theory and practice in American education today. Although theorizing has led to the emergence and clarification of many highly significant educational concepts, few have as yet been adequately translated into actual curriculum practice. Too frequently the curriculum proposals professedly made in the name of advanced theory are but disguised perpetuations of the conventional outlook.

Theory and practice have thus remained aloof from each

other largely because those primarily concerned with philosophy, sociology, and psychology come but rarely in responsible contact with actual school conditions. Their experience tends to be largely vicarious, first-hand participation in schools having been confined to the days of their youth. On the other side, the school practitioner has too little time for reflection and study. His program must go forward. Something must be done now, today. Not infrequently he is convinced of the inadequacy of his program in terms of the generalities of advanced theorizers and impatient with their negligence in relating their theories to practice.

The result is an interesting and unusual situation with regard to curriculum organization. The advancement of theory has stirred educational practitioners. The conventional curriculum design is generally admitted to be questionable and there are in progress almost all conceivable types of exploratory programs which modify significantly this design. State departments of education, regional accrediting agencies, city school systems, and national organizations are involved. But in the face of the broadest attack on curriculum problems ever made by field workers, those primarily concerned with theory frequently become apprehensive. Efforts by practitioners to center the school program around problems, issues, and needs arising from contemporary living bring in protest from quarters which have demanded that the school be a positive social force, concern for "the social disciplines" and the development of "background" for understanding the fundamental forces conditioning American life. In brief, the practitioners have taken new theories more seriously perhaps than at any time in educational history. They are more nearly ready to move forward with fundamental and far-reaching curriculum reorganization than ever before. They have become committed to the junking of the patchwork curriculum which we have in-

heited. They have done more than this. As pointed out before, they have initiated a multitude of innovating practices in curriculum organization—good, bad, and indifferent though they may be—in an effort to discover ways of relating theory and practice. And now they find theorizers who seemed in agreement actually far apart in suggestions for practice. They are warned not to cast away lightly values in the conventional subject curriculum. Thus does the academic view of the college worker, from now a different angle, bring itself to bear confusedly upon the curriculum of the elementary and secondary school.

This situation of confusion and conflict makes the problem of design a matter of supreme importance at the present time. Social stresses and strains, the growing discontent with the existing curriculum, the demand that the school become a positive force in American life—these and other factors have paved the way for fundamental reorganization during the decade ahead. The time is ripe. The opportunity is here. Success or failure hinges largely on whether the new design is to be merely a rehash of the old and conventional with its faith in the efficacy of certain prescribed bodies of subject-matter, or whether it is to be a basic reorientation in terms of the living, vital problems, issues, and needs which face us as individuals and as a people. It is the conviction of the Committee that the mere selection of a new group of subjects will fail to meet the educational needs of contemporary living. We believe that a fundamental reorientation must be accomplished, one that cuts through the academic departmentalization of knowledge, one that centers the life of the school around the basic problems of actual cooperative living—health, leisure, work, conservation of material resources, effective utilization of human resources, and the like.

THE CONVENTIONAL CURRICULUM LACKING IN DESIGN

As pointed out above, few educators now doubt that the traditional curriculum with its multiplicity of subjects and emphasis on subject specialization is unsatisfactory. In both the elementary and secondary school the shortcomings are obvious. The remoteness of the school organization from real life problems and concerns of childhood and youth, the dominance of vicarious experience, the excessive dependence on short unrelated periods of textbook study and recitation, and the emphasis on memorization, are some of these weaknesses.

With this basis of curriculum design it is impossible to provide anything like a rounded educational program. In the elementary school so many subjects are studied that the school day is of necessity divided into isolated, short periods. There is little opportunity for problem-solving situations or for creative activities. Experience is inevitably dispersive and piecemeal. In the secondary school when the number of subjects is reduced, the amount of time devoted to a given phase of work is increased, but at the same time the opportunity of the student for breadth of experience is narrowed because the emphasis remains on bookish specialization. There is no way for the student to study such problems as those of homemaking unless he wishes to devote one-fourth or one-fifth of his total time to them exclusively. He learns nothing of social problems of general concern such as employment, war and peace, and conservation, unless he happens to elect certain courses. It is practically impossible, in other words, for a boy or girl to get a general education dealing with the major problems of living in a school organized on this kind of narrow subject basis.

Considering these shortcomings, we of the Committee now present several major recommendations which we think should be made operative in the evolution of a more satisfactory cur-

riculum design, one through which the function of education in American democracy may find expression.

CURRICULUM DESIGN SHOULD BE BASED ON
CONTINUOUS PLANNING

First of all it may be well to consider directly the meaning of the term curriculum for this conditions most significantly our concept of design. What kind of thing is the curriculum? Of what is it composed? It does not answer our question to read in the dictionary that a curriculum is "a specified fixed course of study." It once meant that, but what ought it to mean now? Considering the best now known, what conception of the curriculum most satisfactorily meets the proper educative needs of childhood and youth?

The attempt to answer this question plunges us at once into the thick of controversy. According to the older view, a curriculum consists of a specified body of subject-matter set-out-to-be-learned. This conception the Committee rejects as unsatisfactory. We look on the curriculum as the succession of educative experiences for which the school accepts responsibility. As the unit element of the old curriculum was an assigned lesson, so the unit element of what we call the new is an educative experience. This newer concept carries direct implications for curriculum design, implications which will become evident through consideration of a long-time basic issue in curriculum-making, namely, what shall be the kind and degree of planning in advance?

The curriculum which is based on specific prescription of subject-matter represents the extreme of complete and rigid planning in advance. The opposed extreme would be a day-by-day opportunistic improvising of what to do. Few can be found to advocate openly either of these extremes, though some approximate them. At all odds, neither is acceptable to

this Committee. Both static imposed programs and random improvisation defeat the purposes of education. A sounder approach than either, and the one which this Committee supports, is a continuous process of planning, to go on in the light of best possible prior study as well as of emerging developments.

Emphasis on *planning* rather than *planned* suggests major differences in the conception of curriculum development. Continuous planning looks upon the development of the curriculum as a dynamic on-going process, with emphasis upon the curriculum as continuously emerging rather than as a static body of content. Emphasis is placed on the close relationship between all phases of planning with the tentative nature of plans. There is not the suggestion of finality that is inherent in a *planned* curriculum, nor is there the separation of planning from execution.

Likewise there are significant differences suggested by comparison of the concept of a *continuous process of planning* with a *curriculum made only day by day*. The former recognizes the necessity of anticipating situations and of beginning plans beforehand so as to provide wise guidance. All the types of school workers make their contribution—the guidance specialist, the psychologist, the subject specialist, the sociologist, the supervisor, and the curriculum specialist. Thus the curriculum emerges as an evolving whole, so guided that the experiences of the boys and girls will lead forward most naturally and effectively into later stages of development. In brief, this concept admits the necessity of flexible plans for guiding the education of a given group of pupils but holds that this flexibility can be effective only as it is based on continuous long-time planning.

Perhaps the most important of the foregoing points are (1) recognition of the necessity for broad, long-time planning and (2) the emphasis on the tentative nature of all aspects

of planning. General phases of the curriculum plan of course are relatively more stable than specific phases, but a process of continuous planning implies continuous interaction between all phases of the planning. A tentative program of attack would be agreed upon by group action of all workers who influence the curriculum. Individual teachers would work with reference to the group agreements rather than in isolation, thus assuring desirable unity for the total program. But this plan would not become a fixed and unchangeable pattern into which method would be forced to fit regardless of the insights developed in direct work with children. There could be no separation of curriculum planning and method. Planning the design of the curriculum and planning for given phases of instruction would become a continuous process, each influencing the other.

STAGE OF GROWTH AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION

A satisfactory design for the curriculum must necessarily take into account the stage of growth of each individual involved. It has already been pointed out in Chapter XII that certain fundamental changes occur in an individual as he passes from childhood to adulthood. Some of the aspects of these changes are biological, others emotional, and still others intellectual.

On the biological side it is readily recognized that the extent of physical development markedly determines the type of activities in which the individual may most appropriately engage and the length of time which may advisedly be devoted to a given activity. As he grows the amount of physical activity lessens and the periods of concentration and intensive intellectual activity lengthen. The curriculum therefore must be so designed as to provide optimum adjustment to these varying factors at the various stages of physical development.

A second change of great significance is in the interests and purposes which characterize various stages of growth. As the individual moves from babyhood to adulthood his interests become more clearly defined and dominant. And while these interests change in this way they affect markedly the nature of the purposes which he develops. Purposes are at first of short duration and are given little overt recognition by the individual. But as interests become increasingly clear because of the more or less random experimenting of the child, purposes begin to be recognized and serve as a conscious drive to action. Then as purposes strengthen, the individual becomes willing to work for longer-deferred ends, engaging in a great deal of routine work over extended periods of time. Thus it is reasonable that "deferred values" should play an ever-growing part in curriculum design as the individual develops. However, it is very important that the experiences be purposeful in nature and the "deferred values" felt by the learner as ancillary to his ends. At the same time greater and greater attention must be given to plans of action, for in large measure the success of education is determined by the ability of the individual to recognize his problems and to use effective devices for attacking them.

So also the design of the curriculum at various levels of the educational program must be influenced by the ever-changing character of child interests. The facts are that the interests of the child do differ in many respects from those of the youth, and those of the youth from the adult. And all the differences which may be discovered should serve definitely to suggest desirable general phases of curriculum content.

THE CURRICULUM SHOULD PROVIDE A ROUNDED
DAY OF LIVING

Many requirements may be set up for education, but before all others stands the right of children to be happy and

successful. In viewing the problem of designing the curriculum from this vantage point large areas of activity can be found which might well be included. Often these areas may serve as major guide lines within which school experiences may be organized.

The school's primary concern should be that every child has a *rounded program of living*. The design of its curriculum consequently must be a function of the entire environment of the child, not just that of the school and the generalized aspects of the culture. It must include out-of-school activities as well as in-school activities. Recreation, health, creative activities, home adjustment, and the like, should be taken into account quite as much as problem-solving and work situations in the classroom. The school itself has in many cases contributed directly to the development of undesirable designs of living by many people. Failure to recognize the need for a regular, active program of recreation, the unwise use of home study to absorb time that should be developed into a leisure activity program, emphasis on *study about* aspects of living to the exclusion of participation in actual situations, and restrictions on the cultivation of individual interests which reach from school to community—these are only some of the ways in which the program of living may go astray.

ORGANIZATION AND DIRECTION OF THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

Direct provision should be made for democratic organization and direction of the school community. If the school is to be a constructive social force the beginning in democratic procedure must be made in its own organization. The optimum curriculum will look to the school community as a source of unusual educational possibilities and will include many experiences related thereto.

First, the operation of the school community must be given a significant part of school time. Democracy is more costly of time than the more autocratic types of government and definite time allotments must be made for the operation of the machinery of living at school. Student committees, conferences, elections, and reports must be looked upon as matters of major importance. Second, students must actually be given the dominant place in carrying forward these activities. There must be no subterfuge. They must have the right to make mistakes in their government as well as to achieve successes. If school organization is merely a front behind which teachers dominate school decisions, a large part of the educative value of the experiences is lost. This is not to imply that a school can suddenly be placed under student control when it has previously been governed entirely by teachers, but it is to say that the success of a school can be measured to no small degree by growth in the interpretation and utilization of democratic processes in its government. Third, the areas of democratic control in a school community must be extended far beyond disciplinary and similar problems. Not only should these aspects of school government be handled on a democratic basis, but student concern and responsibility should reach such matters as the maintenance and operation of the school plant itself, the operation of cafeterias, school services to the community, and the like. It is assumed, of course, that students should take increasing responsibility for sharing the instructional program as well.

In brief, the school community should be as nearly an ideal democratic community as it is possible to build and the design of the curriculum should be such as to give direct emphasis to those activities needed so to make it.

THE CURRICULUM DESIGN SHOULD PROVIDE A
BASIC SOCIAL PROGRAM

The primary responsibility of education is developing understanding of our social life, and the cultivation of a desire to participate constructively in the solution of social problems. If, by reason of experience in school, the American people are to deal more effectively with problems of employment, conservation, health, land ownership and control, power development, labor and management, crime, homemaking, infant mortality, investment, taxation, governmental organization, community planning, protection against illness and old age, and the like, then the experiences which are provided in school must bear with some directness on these or closely related problems. Studies have shown that it is too much to expect that a high degree of transfer to such problems will be made either in content or in methods of work from typical courses in the social sciences. The general practice of providing a background for understanding contemporary life by studying cultures developmentally from the early elementary grades through the entire program of common school education should be reversed for a considerable part of general education. The need, problem, or issue, should become the center of attention in a great deal of the work of the school, and race experience should be employed in its direct relationship to the problem under consideration. After the individual has a broad background in experiences of this type, it may be expected that important abstractions basic to understanding of contemporary life may be further illuminated through study of the evolution of cultures. For example, the concept that many current social maladjustments are the result of the high rate of mechanical invention and low rate of social invention is only an abstraction unless the child sees it as a factor in a wide variety of phases of living. Such a concept cannot be ap-

proached directly until the generalization has been developed through use. Then direct consideration may clarify the generalization and relate it to other generalizations. This direct consideration may be given increasing emphasis as the child matures. In general, however, it appears that a stage of development may not be expected before the latter part of the common-school period when primary emphasis may be placed on study of the origin and evolution of cultures with the expectation that such study will contribute greatly to understanding of contemporary problems and trends.

Four considerations are particularly relevant to the development of a curriculum design which provides direct emphasis on understanding of the problems of contemporary living. In the first place, this phase of the curriculum should be basic for all students. Every pupil is a member of the American family and thus influences favorably or unfavorably the success with which all Americans live together. The school has a primary obligation to see that the influence exerted by each individual is as favorable as possible to general group welfare and that his contribution to the solution of the problems encountered in day-by-day living is of maximum significance. Discharge of this responsibility requires that pupils have opportunity throughout their school experience to develop ability to deal with such problems. From the kindergarten through the junior college a portion of the student's experiences should be planned with particular reference to broadening his understanding and deepening his insights in areas of immediate social concern. The primary-school child's awareness of problems in the home and community—such as providing and preparing food, keeping well, helping members of the family, providing protection against fire and accident—should serve as a basis for an ever-expanding emphasis on problems of present significance even though such problems become increasingly intricate and far-reaching in importance.

This phase of the curriculum should give wide opportunity for cooperative group action. The least capable student should find his place as a respected member of the student group just as the most capable should find ample challenge for his ability. A major outcome should be recognition through actual experience in group action of the complexity of many of our problems and the necessity for expertness and leadership in democratic living. Thus, the goal would not be the impossible one of developing understanding and insight on the part of all students comparable to that of the specialist in the social sciences, but rather to develop the degree of understanding and insight of which each student is capable and recognition by him of his own limitations. It is a stubborn fact that all citizens participate to greater or lesser extent in determining the methods employed in dealing with the most intricate social problems. In all such areas as labor relations, the farm problem, and taxation, the average citizen has his opinions and prejudices, and he influences in a vital way the course of action—local, state, and national—in dealing with them. A boy with an intelligence quotient of 85 may be too “dumb” in the teacher’s view to understand the problems of labor and management, but as a worker he may play a very real part in the treatment of them. For him, understanding of the complexities of the problems involved and recognition of the need for group action are real accomplishments to which the school may contribute.

If boys and girls with all types of ability are to live and study cooperatively in this way, the work must be broad in scope and varied in possibilities. Particularly must materials covering a wide range of difficulty be available for students in all phases of work. The poor reader in the high school must have appropriate easy reading materials available, while materials of great difficulty should be provided for the exceptionally capable student. A variety of activities must be planned.

The group should be a cooperative unit in which each member makes his contribution to the matter in hand, just as out-of-school social situations are generally solved by cooperative group action and through a wide variety of individual contributions.

In proposing to deal directly with the current problems, issues, and needs of America, it is not intended that the curriculum should focus on matters of passing concern or that attention should be given only to their immediate aspects. Rather, it should be so planned that those problems and issues which have been of persistent and long-time importance are the ones stressed most. For example, consider some of the types mentioned earlier, such as conserving and protecting natural resources, providing protection for old age and illness, giving universal employment, protecting the consumer, and providing medical service for all. While these are of immediate concern, they have also been of nation-wide interest and importance for many years. In fact, for centuries the race has been attempting solutions to many of the problems of greatest contemporary significance. Changing conditions necessitate continuous modification of solutions. This makes it important that instruction designed to develop understanding of the problems of American life should be organized so as to bring together in meaningful relationship the pertinent knowledge provided by the various subject fields, information on the conditions of the present, and a survey of the possibilities of the future. This process of organization is a most difficult aspect of education and the phase most generally slighted. Yet it is of utmost importance if the demands of the present are to be faced intelligently.

It obviously would be impossible to include in the school program all the important problems and issues of life today. This raises a question frequently discussed. Since problems change and since all cannot be thoroughly examined, is it not

more important to cultivate techniques for dealing with such problems? It cannot be denied that problems are modified continuously and that information gained on a problem ten years ago would provide an inadequate basis for dealing with the same problem today. Neither can it be denied that it is impossible to include in the curriculum all problems and issues of contemporary and persistent significance. Even so, the conclusion that cultivation of techniques alone is adequate does not appear necessarily to follow.

It is a common experience to see individuals employ highly effective methods of problem-solving in some areas of living and exceedingly ineffective methods in others. Compartmentalization of techniques is perhaps just as prevalent as compartmentalization of beliefs. People trained in science may deal with specialized scientific problems in an effective manner and yet meet social situations with wholly inadequate methods of work. A person who is exceedingly thoughtful in direct personal contacts may be a positive menace on the highway. One who is greatly concerned over health problems may have a narrow point of view on educational matters. This is to be explained largely by the nature of the individual's previous experience. It is evident that no situation is ever new in the sense that it is disconnected from our past experience. While the method of meeting the problem may be a new mosaic, it is composed of the successes and failures of related experiences. Thus success now in meeting a particular situation depends upon success in related experiences in the past. The failure of education to contribute to the solution of many important problems arises from the fact that at no point in the educational program have students been guided in experiences upon which they can build adequate solutions for problems currently faced. For example, thousands of citizens who are products of public schools have dealt ineffectually with the

development of public education. Examination of the program provided in the schools they attended shows that at no place were they as students guided in experiences which could have developed understanding of the problems of providing education in American democracy. Had they had such experiences their action as citizens might well have been quite different. It seems reasonable, for example, to believe that experience in school in studying the wide variety of educational needs in a community would have modified the outlook of thousands of American citizens on numerous school problems.

A student's experience, then, should be as broad as possible, and there is no doubt that an adequate curriculum design will do much to facilitate the guidance of experiences in all the major areas of living. For example, all the problems of the consumer cannot be studied in the school, but dealing with some of them at the time when they are of direct concern to the student will provide a basis upon which he can meet other related problems with increasing effectiveness. Similarly other areas of living should receive emphasis. In this way there is greatest possibility of extending desirable methods of work and attitudes into the varied out-of-school activities and of minimizing compartmentalization either of techniques or beliefs.

CURRICULUM DESIGN MUST PROVIDE CREATIVE AND RECREATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

More and more with the on-sweeping surge of mass production men are working to live rather than living to work. An examination of American life during the past century and a half reveals the great progress made by the American people toward attaining leisure and using it for the enjoyment of life. The growth of invention and technology has greatly ex-

tended the hours of leisure, and, if the prophecy of engineers may be accepted, we have only partially achieved the potentialities of our modern economy in this respect.

The responsibility of the school to furnish opportunities for recreation is made no less real by the variety of out-of-school recreational activities offered by non-school agencies. It is true that the presence of the latter activities provides valuable means by which the school may utilize their best features. But the schools face the particular task of guiding children into an appreciation and enjoyment of recreational activities that are not antagonistic to social welfare. Approximately one-fourth of the total annual cost of recreation in the United States goes to commercial amusements. Without minimizing their potentialities, it is to be remembered that these amusements are in existence to make their owners profit and that, therefore, the welfare of children is not a primary consideration. An important example is to be found in the motion picture to which every week go more than ten million children under fourteen years of age. There is no doubt that motion pictures have a powerful effect on the attitudes and behavior of children. The school should recognize this fact and work at the task of helping children become discriminating in their choice of pictures. So too with the multiplicity of other forms of recreation.

The provision of leisure time is a problem to be solved not only by participation in various recreational activities. As never before in our history Americans have time to write, to paint, to take part in dramatic presentations—to express all that is artistic within them. Until comparatively recent years, the school curriculum scarcely dealt with these interests. The arts were studied only by the children of the rich, and the great majority of pupils in the public schools had little opportunity to express such creative impulses as they might have felt in spite of the disciplinary nature of schooling. Indeed, such in-

novations as appeared in the curriculum were not calculated to provide for the expression of one's esthetic and creative nature, they, too, were disciplinary, and often quite technical.

Fundamentally, all activities may be made creative. The foregoing emphases in curriculum design allow for a large amount of creative activity. In addition, it is the belief of the Committee that special provision should be made for creative and recreational activities, particularly in the arts, in games, and in hobbies. It is the right of every individual to have wide opportunities to cultivate his individual interests and aptitudes in these areas, and curriculum designers must guard against the tendency to slight them. First of all, then, the "extra-curriculum," which in the conventional school has been a matter of choice and often of privilege, must be made a part of the life and program of the whole school. Courses in the arts and crafts, for example, are not to be a special division of the curriculum open to the few. In the second place, guidance in recreational interests and creative expression should be concerned with the direction of intelligent choice of activities. There is no guarantee that activities selected in childhood will carry over into adult life, but it seems entirely reasonable that interests which are wisely encouraged, not enforced or coerced, may become permanent. Third, this emphasis implies that the school program must be developed with attention to the possibilities available in the community. Children may find ample opportunities for the development of recreational and creative interests outside the school. The school program should be so flexible that these advantages may be utilized during the school day, and so planned that demands on children's time will not prevent the enjoyment of them. Finally, for those who display special skills and interests special guidance should be available. Teachers alert to individual differences can find means of allowing all the children to pursue their particular interests, and specialists in

the various fields should be at hand to make their contribution in the way of helpful advice and encouragement.

CURRICULUM DESIGN MUST PROVIDE FOR WORK INTERESTS

The American tradition holds that it is the duty of all to perform useful labor and to respect its social utility. In the America of the future there should be no place for non-productive exploiters of society. The responsibility of the able-bodied individual to earn his living in some socially useful occupation is as great as is the responsibility of society to furnish opportunities for work. But work should not be looked on as an obligation alone. It should be thought of as a means of enriching the spirits of men as well as producing goods and services. It should not be seen as something to be avoided but rather as a value to be prized as a part of a rounded program of living.

The problem of work is twofold in nature. First there is the necessity of cultivating the new view here suggested which implies that work should be evaluated in terms of what it does to and for the worker. Second, socially valuable work should be made available for all members of the social group. Solution of this problem obviously involves major economic readjustment. The school may be able to do relatively little in attacking it, yet that little should be done.

In general, organized education has either neglected the development of the individual's interest in work or has treated it in a superficial manner. An unfortunate distinction between the "academic-minded" and the "non-academic" has emphasized the college preparatory curriculum for the mentally and often economically more able pupils, and the vocational curriculum for the less able. As a result both groups get a narrow and inadequate education. Furthermore such unfortunate

social distinctions, particularly in the high schools, have served to reflect and accentuate social problems of the most acute type in our national life.

In planning the design of the curriculum it should be recognized that preparation for work is more significant than preparation for a specific occupation or profession. This phase of the curriculum bears a very close and intimate relationship to the social core of the curriculum discussed earlier, a relationship so close in fact that the two aspects should be considered at all times as especially interdependent. In other words, vocational education should not be considered apart from general education as is now the frequent practice.

Differentiation of emphasis between the social core and the work aspect of the curriculum should come gradually as the individual approaches maturity. Emphasis should be given in the social core to the general problems of work and the place of work in the life of our people. All phases of the curriculum should provide a variety of activities which permit the individual to discover special interests and aptitudes, and all teachers should provide guidance to stimulate participation in these activities as one basis for the selection of permanent lines of work. This guidance should not be confined to helping a pupil select a vocation or a college, or to choosing between courses in home economics or commercial education. Rather is it the function of the school to offer every pupil opportunities to discover interests that will give direction to his career both in school and college, and in the selection of work during vacations and after the period of general schooling is completed. As work interests become clarified, the way should be opened for more definite study and exploration of these possibilities. This will require during secondary education the designation of a special area of emphasis on problems related to work.

The final step in differentiation is the provision of definite

training for given occupations or professions. This requires technical courses and special curriculum opportunities. These opportunities should be withheld until late adolescence when the individual has achieved a general education and is sufficiently developed to make a wise choice of vocation. It is then that preparation for work becomes the dominant aspect of the curriculum

CURRICULUM DESIGN MUST PROVIDE FOR THE
DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNIQUES

All phases of living depend for effectiveness on special abilities and techniques, particularly those which relate to language and number. The conventional school has centered attention very largely on the mastery of these abilities and techniques and has thus overlooked the larger implications of education. Much of the direct emphasis on techniques has been unnecessary either because the skills could have been mastered adequately in situations of ordinary use or because pupils could not at the time use them to accomplish purposes they considered worth while. There can be no doubt that much of the time of children and youths has thus been wasted. This whole process is to be strongly condemned and approval given to every effort to free American schools from the deadly routine of drill on trivial matters which even now forms no small part of the educational program.

However, the fact should not be overlooked that under optimum educational conditions some direct training for the mastery of complex abilities and techniques is essential. There is every reason to believe that the incidental consideration of the more complex abilities which are used frequently in varying situations tends to result in ineffectual mastery of them. It is sound education to see that these abilities are developed as

economically and as effectively as possible. Adequate curriculum design will recognize this factor.

The conditions under which this work is to be done should be carefully noted. In the first place, study of this kind should not be considered an independent aspect of the curriculum in which the conventional program for developing skills is carried forward with a somewhat smaller time allotment. Rather it should hold a service relationship to the other aspects of the curriculum and to out-of-school situations. Abilities are continually required which cannot be mastered on the spot and which may be mastered for more effective future use if given direct emphasis. To stop a unit of work or a project for this direct emphasis frequently disrupts the flow of events and diverts attention from the purpose at hand. This difficulty may be avoided by provision of a time for this direct emphasis as need is noted.

The primary requirement of psychological organization is that the ability or technique receiving direct emphasis may be used by the pupil in meeting situations which are meaningful and purposeful for him. Only by observing this requirement can meaningless drill be avoided. At all times with every group of children taught a teacher should ask this question: Will proficiency in this ability help these children do better the things which they will be doing during the course of their day-by-day living? If the answer to this question is in doubt, the advisability of the instruction is seriously open to question.

In the second place, many of the more complex abilities and techniques hold relationships to each other which, if recognized and understood, contribute to effective use. Frequently the injection of these relationships into a situation where a particular ability or technique has been used serves as an intrusion, making the relationship appear artificial and the purpose of the project or enterprise secondary. With the project as background this relationship may be given direct

emphasis in a supplementary phase of the curriculum and thus the sense of intrusion is avoided

The approach should partake of the characteristics of a normal life situation requiring special attention to complex abilities. The golfer, for example, upon encountering trouble does not stop then and there to master the ability. Rather he will note the difficulty and set aside a special time for practice. He may then concentrate on particular phases of the game hour after hour. Frequently he places himself in the hands of a teacher and follows directions for drill exercises which may not appear to be related directly to his problem. This may lead him to give himself over to a regular program of practice to support his game. He may go for several weeks on faith, but eventually he demands an accounting in terms of his purpose. This suggests the crucial point in practice or direct emphasis on an ability. It is not the separation in time of practice from the situation of use but the ultimate improvement of the ability in use which counts.

Effective presentation of technique instruction requires that the opportunities be highly individualized. The needs of pupils for direct technique attention vary greatly. What is especially difficult for one child to master is easy for another. For one, an ability may be acquired through incidental use; for another, special and prolonged concentration is necessary. Thus the adequate development of this aspect of curriculum design demands careful, continuous study of the individual and appropriate instructional plans will satisfactorily meet his needs as they are discovered.

THE DESIGN OF CURRICULUM IN THE THINKING OF TEACHERS

In conclusion, what the curriculum design is or is not depends in the final analysis upon the understanding of teach-

ers. It is sometimes assumed that the design of the curriculum can be made apart from classroom instructors. This is in reality an impossibility. Limitations may be set up by administrative and supervisory officers and by specialists which may markedly affect the design of the curriculum, but even these restrictions must be made operative through the activities of classroom teachers. Curriculum design in operation depends upon what teachers understand to be the purposes of the school, the nature of education and learning, and the restrictions under which they work. There are no curriculum designs which are identical. In spite of the most rigorous imposition of a pattern the experiences of every group of pupils in every school are unique. Even under the closest of restrictions history is not just history and arithmetic just arithmetic. With a given teacher and a given group of pupils experiences resulting from study of a subject or development of a project or unit of work or connected with any aspect of a day of living at school are different from the experiences of any other teacher and children, or of this teacher with other children, or of these children with another teacher.

There is only one means, consequently, of modifying the design of the curriculum and that is through classroom teachers. Improvement can be made only as their insight and understanding are deepened. Curriculum designers must take this fact into account and all steps of planning must be so ordered as to contribute to teacher understanding.

This does not mean that every teacher should be a law unto himself in planning the curriculum. In fact, it is the studied opinion of the Committee that no teacher alone can develop an adequate curriculum design for the pupils he is to teach. Design is a function of the past and the future as much as of the present, and all efforts must be made to bring the present into this perspective. Consequently the first steps in curriculum planning must be carried forward on a group

basis. The educational program must be viewed as an emerging unity and many workers must contribute to the development of it as such. Group agreements must be reached as to general limitations and guides by means of which the individual teacher will move on to the individual problems of planning, that is, studying the children to be taught and planning for the development of instruction.

The fact that the design of the curriculum is in the thinking of teachers has another implication of major significance. Frequently the assumption is made that externally imposed curriculum designs are the same as written plans of curriculum organization. As a result it is sometimes assumed that the elimination of written plans frees teachers and guarantees a flexible, evolving curriculum design, adapted to the needs of pupils taught. Few conceptions are more erroneous. Written plans may be the means of making operative external imposition or, in direct contrast, they may be the means of effective group action. When a written plan which has been externally made and imposed is eliminated without a corresponding constructive group attack, teachers very generally merely continue to employ the type of curriculum design which they have always followed. The problem of developing an adequate design for the curriculum is not one of merely freeing teachers and leaving them on their own. This point can hardly be overemphasized. A positive emphasis rather than a negative one is essential. Any effort which fails to provide such a positive emphasis leaves the curriculum essentially the same as it was before, with even greater possibility of thoughtless and careless teaching.

Chapter XVI

THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS AS GUIDANCE ¹



This chapter is concerned with the potential contribution of school experiences to the emotional development of the child. If it is the function of the school to help him to deal with present situations adequately and to grow in social competence, then its curriculum must serve his emotional no less than his mental development, for both are aspects of social growth. A school that takes education to mean guidance of the child in his feeling as well as his thinking devises educational experiences which help each individual to grow in increasing emotional freedom. In such a school relationships and processes are held to be as significant in the educational experience as are subjects and materials, in short, they, too, are aspects of the curriculum.

THE RÔLE OF THE SCHOOL IN PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

The school has long had some responsibility to influence the personalities of the oncoming generation as well as to communicate to it a body of knowledge and skills. In the past, and to some extent at present, this function has been conceived concretely in terms of "character" building and, for "citizenship" building. The body politic long ago recognized that it had a vested interest in its future members and saw in the

¹ This chapter was written by Caroline B. Zachry.

school an agency responsible to it which should protect that interest by supplementing the influence of the home, or indeed compensating for parental inadequacies, through developing qualities in the young which were held to be valuable or necessary to the community. Quite generally, however, the school has been expected to exert this influence by precept (and incidentally by the example of its staff), that is, very largely by intellectual means. It has approached the student as if, to all intents and purposes, his mind were a disembodied faculty divorced from feeling. It has proceeded on the assumption that a way of living—such as honesty, for example—could be instilled in the pupil by much the same method as might a method of arithmetical computation. Increasing understanding of the emotional needs of the child and their relation to his total growth as a personality have more recently led to the recognition that the school must adapt to those needs its methods of guiding him toward responsible adulthood and constructive citizenship.

Yet even though the school for some time has accepted and attempted to carry out a responsibility for character education, it still regards this responsibility as incidental to its central and exclusively academic obligation. Character education has usually been relegated to a special time of day, or even to a special occasion of the week or the month. To inform a child's mind, somehow assumed to be existing in isolation from his total being, has been the primary duty of the school. However, it came to be acknowledged that a child learns his lessons more readily if he is physically well. Doctors, therefore, were asked to take a place in the school, not at first as any functional part of an institution which serves the child as a whole, but as an extra to facilitate the performance of its responsibility according to its limited concept. The presence of the doctor in the school nevertheless gradually influenced it to take a broader interest in the child. Similarly, when during

periods of economic depression children stayed at home on wintry days for lack of warm clothing, many schools took at least some initiative in the way of seeing that they were clothed. This was done primarily to increase attendance, but through this service the school did learn more of the child's life. And as psychologists gain greater insight into the basic needs of the child and of his ways of intellectual, emotional, and social growth, it is coming to be accepted that no one aspect of this process can be placed in primary or subsidiary position by those truly concerned with his education, that helping in the development of his whole personality is indeed their responsibility.

Insight into the child's needs for fullest growth has led to one further step in the gradual reconstruction of the objectives of education. A teacher who possesses this understanding feels respect for the child as an individual. Rather than attempting to instill in him specific personality traits, as in the case of intellectualized character education, or indeed attempting to impose upon him some plan for growth which she has evolved for him, she permits him to find his own ways for satisfying emotional needs within the wide range of socially acceptable behavior and to use her guidance only as he needs it.

Each Child Is Unique

The school which undertakes to help in the education of feelings takes into account the fact that each child is somewhat different from his fellows in the degree of development which he has attained, that indeed development is likely to be uneven in each individual. It recognizes that children differ from one another in patterns of adjustment, in the extent of their need for comfort, security, and success. Some keep growing through the common experiences of life, both in the classroom and outside. This happens especially when teachers and

parents understand their behavior as the response of their total personalities to the total situation with which they are dealing. Other children require a different type of experience at one stage or another in their development, they need a more or less intimate relationship with some trusted adult, such as the school guidance counsellor, who can help them with their problems. These children can come to realize through this relationship how they behave when confronted with this or that sort of experience, and why. And as they evaluate their behavior they begin to change it in terms of a fuller understanding of all that is involved and with a new feeling about themselves in what they do. A few are too warped, are suffering too much, to be able to profit from this kind of friendly counselling. These must have therapeutic experience through which they may relieve their lives, remaking themselves fundamentally in the process. The differences among the processes of education, guidance counselling, and therapy are not so great as is sometimes supposed, their objectives are in the long run the same, and their processes take departure from the same conceptions of the development of personality, differing in terms of the degree and kind of the child's need. In effect, every situation is a guidance situation in so far as through it the child is growing in his orientation to life.

The school must know its limitations in giving help in the emotional development of children. It must learn to recognize which of a child's needs may be met, not through educational processes, nor through the counselling of the guidance expert, but perhaps through services of a therapist which the school cannot offer. In such a case it must be content to help the child in the way that it can, by referring him to the therapist. And it coöperates with this specialist by adjusting the child's school experiences, in so far as possible, to the child's

needs It is important to admit, also, that in some instances even therapy fails to help in any thoroughgoing way. .

Preparing the Teacher

The preparation by which a teacher may learn to recognize the meaning of a child's behavior, and to understand when the school experience is meeting his emotional needs and when and wherein it is not, should be included in every teacher-training program, so that teachers more generally may become competent in applying mental hygiene in the classroom and also in informal individual guidance relationships with the child. Such training gives the student teacher insight into the origins of behavior patterns and the ways of personality growth through study, not of the old, logically arranged, academic psychology, but of problems of human behavior occurring in the everyday experience of the classroom. These problems are viewed as symptoms of the child's difficulty in adjusting his biological inheritance to his home and school environment, and their implications for educational method are studied. In order to conduct such a program the training institution should have ready access to a child-guidance clinic. This unit should be an integral part of the institution. In fact, from an administrative point of view, it seems wisest that the staff of the clinic and the teaching staff of the department of mental hygiene and psychology be one and the same group. Under its careful supervision the student teacher may make personality studies, both of normally adjusted children and children with unusual problems. The student should participate in the clinic's staff conferences, at which case histories are discussed and treatment is planned, this experience is, indeed, the most valuable single factor in the mental-hygiene education of the teacher. Furthermore, members of the psychology department and of the clinic staff should give

a large proportion of their time to individual work with the student teacher so that she may gain understanding of her own problems and her own ways of behaving.

The Guidance Counsellor

The teacher should be emotionally mature enough to deal with the pupil on his own terms, rather than in terms of her own personal needs. In some schools the teacher does not work alone at this task. There may be a guidance expert with whom she has informal conferences regarding concrete situations, general procedures, and child problems in general. Such contacts lead naturally to discussions of this or that individual pupil. Other members of the staff who know the child or have known him previously—are called in to participate—the visiting teacher, the psychologist, the psychiatrist, the school doctor, the principal, and others. The experiences they have all had with the child are pooled and their opinions as to the origins of his behavior are voiced. The guidance counsellor does not tell the others what to do, but tries to help them toward further understanding of the child's behavior and of their own rôles in relation to it. An integral part of the work of the school, the staff conference leads to the adaptation of group procedures, and to the clarification of the functions of the school and its implementation. It is only through such sharing of understanding and such cooperative planning that the individual pupil can best be served. As for the student teacher, so, too, for the teacher in service, this conference constitutes the richest resource in mental-hygiene training.

The full import of the rôle which the guidance expert in education may play in the school is not sufficiently well recognized. Indeed, no adequate training for this function is as yet offered in any university or teachers college, the prospective counsellor still must turn for training to other fields, such as psychiatry or psychiatric social work. Yet the guidance coun-

sellor, working with other members of the school staff on the needs of each child and the meaning of classroom experiences for his growth, may be of strategic significance to the school in its efforts to foster fullest development.

Processes, Relationships, and Subjects

Thus the curriculum of the school is thought of as comprising not only its "content," in the meaning that subject-matter may have to each child, but also its processes in terms of the manner in which experiences are planned for and the relationships through which they are carried out. Included are the relationships between teacher and pupil, between child and child, between child and group. There is the wide range of more and less intimate relationships which the child has with the guidance counsellor, the school doctor or nurse, or other members of the staff. Finally, there are those which the student has with the various representatives of the life of the community with whom the school is in touch.

Projects are chosen so as to satisfy and to challenge the child's growing emotional and intellectual capacities. Since all of his experiences, wherever and whenever they may take place, have bearing on his emotional growth, it is evident that whatever else the curriculum may encompass it must be concerned with experiences he has in the back yard, on the street corner, at the playground, in the motion-picture theater, at the radio, with his parents and with his contemporaries. The school must attempt to help the child interpret, supplement, and integrate the various experiences which come to him through these different sources so that he may use them in satisfying and constructive ways. And the teacher gains added awareness of the child's needs by observing what use he makes of these experiences both in and out of school. Thus, so far as possible she tries to adjust his school activities to those needs.

EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH
CLASSROOM EXPERIENCE

What opportunities may the school offer to the child for satisfying his basic emotional needs¹—for affection and security and for achievement—in such ways that he may grow to increasing emotional freedom and social competence?

The School for the Young Child

The few existing nursery schools, and to some degree kindergartens, too, are more generally concerned with the child's emotional needs than are elementary and secondary schools. Nursery schools, particularly, have the advantage of being free from scholastic tradition, they were started late in the history of the school, and in the light of new knowledge of child growth. Thus teachers for the very young child are more apt to be selected because of their understanding of childhood and because of their own personalities. Indeed, the maturity and insight of the teacher are of especial significance to the small child. His needs for comfort and security are great, and she must respect them. It is important for her to be able to allow him to follow his own pace in the gradual development of emotional self-reliance. It is her obligation to present opportunities for achievement through the mastery of one skill or another without preconceived expectations as to his attainments. The toddler, it must be remembered, is still highly individualistic, centered upon himself and his parent and perhaps now upon the parent's substitute, the teacher, and therefore has not yet extended an affectionate interest to other children to any marked degree. Nursery-school activities, then, are best planned with little expectation of cooperation and group endeavor. Yet the alert teacher, watching for indications of social interest, will find oppor-

¹ Discussed in Chapter XII, "The Growth Process."

tunities for encouraging its development. By observing each child's patterns of emotional adjustment she may discover his individual needs and thus open opportunities for meeting them. For example, by encouraging the use of his body in the nursery school, she may offset a tendency on the part of his parents to overemphasize his linguistic development. During frequent informal conferences with the parents, she comes to know the home situation better and in her turn passes on some of the understanding of the child which she has gained through seeing him among his contemporaries in school.

The Elementary Classroom

In primary and intermediate grades in the schools of our country, the visitor finds procedures which are based on two quite opposite concepts of child growth and education. In one classroom a routine has been planned in advance and children and teacher fit into the schedule. A program informs the visitor just what the children were doing before he came and what they will be doing for every twenty-minute or half-hour period that is to come that day. The lessons are planned in accordance with a standard of achievement for that grade which has been determined by the state department of education. The subject-matter of this curriculum must be mastered by any child if he is to be promoted to the next grade. Spelling is taught as an end in itself, the words being dictated by the teacher and then written by the children in even columns. Grammar, also presented as an end in itself, is taught from a prescribed textbook. A weekly composition, to be prepared in a given form, is assigned. There is penmanship drill.

All of the children's activities in this school are laid out in advance and carefully supervised. If necessity demands that the class move from room to room, it proceeds in line, in the order dictated by the teacher. Rules govern a child's behavior in such a class: he must raise his hand if he wishes to speak

or to leave his seat and he must have special permission to leave the room. In some schools of this sort the child is supervised by the same teacher for at least a term, in others there are supervisors for special subjects. In still others, such as platoon schools, the children change teachers and often classrooms approximately every half hour. Each new bit of work is a unit in itself and is presented by a different personality.

In another school the visitor finds a very different classroom. Some youngsters are working alone at their desks or tables, and a group is sitting around a library table listening to one child who is reading aloud. On the floor in a corner of the room four children are drawing on a large sheet of rough paper, in another corner a committee meeting is in progress. The teacher is off in another direction sitting on one of the small chairs talking with a child. The visitor learns that the class magazine is coming out in a few days. The children at their seats are correcting and improving manuscripts which have been returned with suggestions by the editor. The group at the library table had turned in some rather crude travel stories, and now they are listening to a tale of travel suggested by the teacher, seeking to determine what is a well constructed story. The youngsters on the floor are composing a poster to advertise the magazine to the rest of the school. The committee is made up of the heads of the editorial departments, and they are rather heatedly discussing space allotments.

In this classroom subject-matter is not presented categorically, nor even differentiated on a logical basis, it is presented in terms of its use to the children. Literature, spelling, grammar and punctuation, literary and newspaper forms and values, graphic composition and skill in the use of the hand printing press are learned, not in order to gain marks which will lead to promotion to the next grade but as means toward a definite and wished-for end that may be attained here and

now, in this grade. The subject-matter was not determined by a state department of education but by the teacher and the pupils. The child's behavior is not prescribed for him in advance, it is determined, as in other real situations, by the necessity of the enterprise. When he fails to show good judgment in his behavior, he learns either through his mistakes or from his contemporaries or the teacher, in terms of the situation at hand. In such a school, the child is responsible primarily to one teacher, in each of the first six grades at least.

The atmosphere of the other classroom described is that of a thing apart from life, its work is based upon an assumption that experience is received by the individual in logical categories. Not only in this respect does it lack meaning to the child, but also in that most of its values are deferred. The child is asked to assimilate and store up against the future a body of facts and skills of little present significance to him except in so far as his failure to do so prevents his promotion.

In the more progressive classroom, work is based on the recognition that learning must have purpose to the child in terms of his own scale of values and must arise from his own needs in relation to the situation, must be dynamic as life itself. It is recognized that society is in flux, and that one cannot be sure that knowledge and skill now stored up have absolute or lasting value, that therefore the child can best prepare for adult life by learning to deal with present situations adequately. In a classroom which provides a realistic environment life's realities may be met on their own terms under the guidance of the teacher. She helps the child to get ready for life in adulthood by helping him to learn to meet life now, to deal with problems as they arise. Values are not deferred: the piece of work which the child accomplishes is of worth to him in that he has succeeded in doing the task that he helped to plan in the light of his own needs and interests and those of the group. His learning of spelling or punctua-

tion is motivated, not by the compulsion to get a good mark and be promoted, but by the desire to write a story good enough to be accepted by his class magazine—a realistic motive. His satisfaction and that of his colleagues come from accomplishing a purpose meaningful to them then and there.

One of the child's basic needs which the school experience must meet if it is to help in his emotional development is the need for a feeling of success. The freer sort of classroom provides many different opportunities for a reasonable feeling of achievement. Children of different abilities may succeed in their different ways while all are gaining some proficiency in fundamental skills.

In the formal grammar or composition class, all children must find such measure of achievement as they may within the same rigid pattern, each child's attainment is rated in comparison to that of his mates and he is rewarded or condemned by a mark. In the progressive English group the highly imaginative day-dreamer finds a constructive outlet for his fantasies in the writing of a story or a poem which takes its place in the cooperative project. The child who is matter-of-fact has opportunity to achieve success in writing clear and interesting news items or other realistic material. Satisfaction for the child with a flair for organizing is gained in planning and carrying out the distribution of the magazine, and mechanical tasks all along the line offer opportunities for children with little or no creative ability. And to all of them as they work together come some of the understandings and skills common to the project as a whole. Thus by shifting its emphasis from mainly academic success to include also success in art, mechanics, music, and other areas, the progressive school offers scope for achievement to individuals of manifold kinds and degrees of endowment.

Important as is the sense of achievement, it is, however, equally important to the child to know always that he is loved

and wanted for himself and not merely for his abilities and accomplishments. In more conventional schools, with their responsibilities for bringing children to meet uniform standards of learning, it is not easy to fill this need. Even in many progressive schools the attainment of proficiency—though of various kinds—remains the chief concern and the need of the child for security with others is often overlooked.

In contrast are schools which recognize to the full the meaning of guiding the whole personality of the child, in its emotional as well as its intellectual development. Their procedures arise from an understanding that achievement of proficiency alone does not make life satisfying to the child nor suffice to help him toward maturity. The sense of security with others, defined in terms of the age and development of the individual, is held quite as fundamental to adjustment as is success in achievement. For the child in the elementary grades the school situation provides this security when he is sure of the affection of his teacher. He requires the stability of having one teacher personality to turn to, he is lost if he comes in contact with several during each day. Indeed, not all seventh-grade pupils are ready to make the transition from one teacher to many, numerous problems arising at the beginning of the junior high school have their source in this difficulty. In general, however, the child in the intermediate and junior-high-school grades finds a good measure of his security, as has been said in an earlier chapter, in the group of his contemporaries, and it is a function of the teacher of the gang-age child to guide the school situation so that he may feel that he is wanted by his classmates.

The young child needs also the security that comes from knowing what is expected of him. In a classroom of either one of the two contrasting kinds here described, a teacher may give him a sense of her interest and affection and he may feel, too, that he has the social approval of his classmates. But in the

formal setting, the teacher is more definite in making her expectations known to the child. The progressive teacher, on the other hand, needs to be reminded that children are in the process of growing toward the ability to make their own decisions. The nature of their previous experiences both at home and at school has influenced their progress toward planning for themselves, but in any event as young children they need a measure of security in having an adult do some of the planning for them.

The wise teacher who gives the child comfort and affection is helping him to develop toward greater security within himself if she is free to let him grow away from her toward new loyalties as he needs them. So, too, with planning for the child a teacher can give him such security as he needs and at the same time allow him the freedom to grow up, to achieve the ability to do his own planning. Work that arises from his own plans is more clear and meaningful to him than work can be which is superimposed by the teacher. By giving him opportunities to develop judgment in social conduct the school helps him to learn to behave in life situations. A school in which all of the child's behavior is definitely prescribed by some power beyond him, where he looks to authority and gives strict obedience, may play a large part in keeping him childishly dependent always. The atmosphere of such a school finds few parallels in the life of a democratic community, but schools which help the child to make his own choices and to accept responsibility for them are helping him toward a democratic way of life.

Differences in Children's Abilities

If the teacher's training has prepared her to recognize the different ways of adjustment which children find, and the variety in kinds and degrees of their endowment, she will be able to devise educational experiences for children who in one

way or another are markedly different from the others in the group. Toward those of limited endowment, as toward the richly endowed, she has a special responsibility

The highly imaginative child who is seeking escape from difficulty in day-dreams is using a pattern which in various degrees and types is common to persons of all ages and which may serve a very constructive purpose. Some young day-dreamers, to be sure, are in such deep conflict that unless therapy is able to help them, breakdown results. For many, however, the teacher may succeed in providing constructive as well as satisfying outlets for their dreams, so that it becomes evident to them that they do not need to escape wholly from life into mere fantasy. What a day-dreamer creates in his imagination may have social value, and his inner conflict may find healthy and constructive outlets through his work. The teacher may help him by encouraging him to express his feelings through science or through art. And in so doing she may gain further insight into the child's conflicts, his hopes and ambitions, and his fears, as he reveals these in creative expression. Thus she is enabled to guide him more wisely.

It should not, of course, be assumed, as too often it is by teachers and parents, that a child who shows creative ability will necessarily become a musician, a painter, a distinguished architect or engineer. Creative production cannot be prodded, it is an expression of the emotion of the moment, and the child should be permitted such outlets quite apart from thought of his vocational career.

Educators are too often disposed to concern themselves primarily with children who are highly gifted, especially with those who show artistic aptitude, not recognizing that the mechanically minded child, too, is creative. In the progressive classroom, particularly, children who show little creative ability are likely to be at sea among colleagues who achieve on a high artistic level. The child who is not apt in verbal expres-

sion may readily be thought not intelligent, since tests of intelligence deal mainly in verbal symbols. Yet a child who is lost among meaningless intricacies in such a test may be able to find his way with confidence and ease in a blueprint, may work with freedom in the space arts. Educators are likely to overlook the meaning of the fact, too, that for those of limited endowment, the making of a mud pie is a creative enterprise. Each child should be permitted to begin where his present abilities and interests lead him, to use any medium of expression that he can control, and, under the teacher's guidance, gradually to raise his standards of achievement in proportion to his ability to achieve. The educator must find out what type of activity is both possible and challenging to each child, and must give him a chance to feel that he is succeeding and that he has a contribution to make to the total endeavor of his group. And she must be careful to guide the classroom situation in such a way that the gifted or emotionally secure children do not dominate to the disadvantage of children who are less well endowed or less secure.

One teacher watched a youngster as he sat silent and withdrawn through hour after hour while the other children were planning a pageant, writing its lyrics, designing its costumes and its settings.¹ The boy had no suggestions to make. His teacher followed him to other classes, observing how he behaved when it came to mathematics, science, and shop. She discovered that his major interest was electricity. Here was a way this boy could make an important contribution to the pageant, and one which until now had been overlooked. The question of colored lighting for the show was brought up at the next opportunity and with one accord the group suggested the boy as the one to take this phase of their project in charge. He was one of them now, and he had something to

¹ Caroline B. Zachry, *Personality Adjustments of School Children* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929).

contribute. Soon he was deeply engaged with the art committee and the art teacher. And through this great interest of his, he began to see for the first time the value of the other work being done by the group. In order to be able to know when to change lights, he went so far as to memorize poetry! He became aware of the effect of color and, so far as the teacher knows, discussed it for the first time. He listened to a discussion of the choice of music appropriate to scenes, action, and lighting. Thus each member of this group was enabled to contribute, and all were given the opportunity to learn through their own experience what was implicit in this enterprise—that the arts have a relation to one another and also a relation to endeavors, also creative, which sometimes serve more utilitarian purposes.

Difficulties in Adjustment

Even under ideal conditions the child's task of adjustment through growth is not easy. The teacher must be prepared to understand and deal with behavior, occurring again and again in the same child, which indicates that he is meeting difficulties too great for him to handle constructively alone. When a child encounters difficulty, he tries out various ways of behaving and adopts the pattern which is most satisfying. The teacher who understands what this means for the child can, in many instances, help him toward ways that are constructive as well.

One boy's favorite pattern, for example, is projection—he puts the blame outside himself for his own failures. The small girl who cries when she fails, and the lad who feels ill when he fears that he cannot do what is expected of him, are both retreating to baby ways with which comforting care is associated. This is the pattern of regression. Another child escapes from difficulties into day-dreams, and still another tries to compensate with boastful exhibitions of physical prowess.

for the fact that he cannot be successful in academic work. There are other patterns of adjustment which the teacher meets daily.

Compensation, like day-dreaming, may have constructive uses. In dealing with this pattern the teacher may help the child by providing him with opportunities for success not only in the field of endeavor which he has chosen but also in other areas. So it is with other patterns.

To enable her to provide these opportunities the teacher must understand the origins of his present pattern. She probably will not be in a position to inform herself of his life history, nor is this necessary in order to make the work of the classroom educative to him. If her preparation has given her understanding of the development of child personalities she knows how to help him. Sometimes, to be sure, the old ways persist through all opportunities offered in the group, if so, then she must—if she has not already done so—begin to establish a person-to-person relationship with the pupil. Perhaps then she will be able to give added help, or at least she may learn whether or not more intensive aid from the guidance expert or the therapist is needed.

The Secondary School

The general principles for the emotional education of the young child and for the youth who is approaching adolescence apply equally for the adolescent. His basic needs are the same, though generally they are redefined and in many respects intensified in terms of his stage of development. Adolescence is normally a period of conflict, as has been said.¹ It is a period during which the young person is attempting to adjust to physical change and to a new social rôle at one and the same time. He is greatly disturbed by his new relationships with people of both sexes, and is attempting to make adjustments

¹ Chapter XII, "The Growth Process."

to them. He is struggling to free himself from childlike dependence upon his parents, and one phase of this process is his identification with another adult, usually a member of the same sex, and very likely a teacher whom he chooses as his model. An understanding school environment can give him substantial help with this central problem of personal relationships.

The teacher who is singled out as his friend and confidant can, by accepting his affection and trust, help him to a growing understanding of himself and his place among those around him, can guide him toward insight into his difficulties and his own ways of behaving, so that he may learn to deal with his problems more adequately. Such a teacher should use the help of the guidance counsellor in the school, conferring with this expert without identifying the student, or actually sending him to the counsellor if more help is needed than a friendly teacher is able to give.

Various subject-matter aspects of the curriculum can help the student to greater understanding of human relationships. Through biology he may learn more about his own body and its changes. Through the study of literature he may experience conflicts of family life and sex adjustment not unlike his own, and move vicariously toward their resolution. Through the arts and the crafts he may express some of his conflict in increasingly adult creative forms.

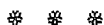
Wherever questions of human relationships are dealt with in group discussion there should be opportunity for the student to talk over alone with an adult whom he likes his own personal problems of relationship. If such discussions occur in the science class, for example, the leader of this group may be chosen by the student. The teacher should be ready to give help, always relying upon the guidance expert for aid in learning whether the student needs more counsel than she can give.

As his need to identify himself with some person greater than he takes the form of interest in an ideal less personal, in religion or a cause, the social studies are important to him. Throughout childhood he has felt, with little comprehension, the impact of social change as it came to him through relationships with parents and teachers whose anxieties were expressed in their attitudes. Now as he is approaching adulthood he may, in working toward his cause, meet broad problems as realities within his comprehension and so come to deal with his community at first hand.

The school which understands the child's efforts toward growth in adjustment to his environment recognizes that in the educational experiences which it offers, through its processes and relationships as well as through subject-matter and materials, it may find ways of serving as an environment which guides him in his emotional and social development. Its social function is to influence each personality within its care toward growth in orientation to life, toward behavior which both satisfies the individual and contributes to the life of the community.

Chapter XVII

ADMINISTRATIVE CONSIDERATIONS IN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT ¹



Acceptance of the concept of the curriculum and the considerations basic to curriculum development which have been emphasized in the foregoing chapters necessitates the modification of many current practices in the administrative organization and procedures employed for curriculum development. Much curriculum work hitherto has been based upon concepts of the rôle of teachers, administrators and experts, which are incompatible with the views expressed in this report. In this chapter we turn briefly to some of these important administrative matters

RÔLE OF THE TEACHER

It has been recognized in most curriculum programs that the teacher holds a highly important relationship to the actual improvement of the curriculum. This fact has been admitted even in the rank-and-file programs which have been largely concerned with producing new courses of study or modifying existing ones. In such programs the importance of teachers has been recognized by having the committees which produce materials composed largely of classroom teachers rather than supervisors or subject specialists. Plans have been carefully developed to provide for the selection of teachers to represent various groups on production committees and

¹ This chapter was written by Hollis L. Caswell.

to carry back to the large group of teachers the results of committee work. Emphasis has been placed on securing a balanced representation of various groups and interests, and on the responsibility to the larger group of the individuals selected. It should be noted, however, that this procedure rests directly on the point of view that curriculum development is something apart from the day-by-day activities of teachers, that participation in a curriculum program means that teachers must be released from classroom work, and that the responsibility of teachers for curriculum work can be delegated to group representatives. Selection by teachers of representatives to engage in curriculum work rather than appointment by the administration is considered in such programs a superior procedure because it is believed that teachers will then accept the results of committee work. "Selling" the program to teachers looms large in this general approach to the organization of curriculum work.

The concept of the curriculum presented in this report requires a different view of the rôle of the teacher than that suggested by the foregoing practice. Rather than considering curriculum improvement a primary concern to committees only, this concept implies that all teachers are curriculum workers and directly associated, by the very nature of their work, with curriculum improvement. It is impossible to isolate a teacher through any administrative organization from curriculum work. Arguments may wax and wane as to whether the expert or the teacher should make the curriculum, but the fact remains that no curriculum can be made without teachers though one may be developed without experts. Teacher and pupils are the indispensable requirements for curriculum development. Other factors add or detract from the type of curriculum developed, but these two alone are the prerequisites. Any organization for curriculum improvement

which does not take this fact into account is overlooking the basic factors of curriculum development.

The Committee considers inadequate any program which attempts to "sell" to teachers a type of organization or particular techniques developed apart from actual classroom situations. Rather the curriculum emerges during the course of the daily activities of teachers and any satisfactory administrative organization and procedure will recognize these activities as the primary instrument of curriculum development. Administrative plans, consequently, will be such as to draw out of classroom experiences the needs for committee organization and for the production of guidance materials.

TEACHER GROWTH THE BASIS OF CURRICULUM IMPROVEMENT

Conventional curriculum programs have been largely concerned with the participation of teachers in the activities directly related to the improvement of courses of study or the preparation of committee reports. The concept of the types of appropriate teacher activities in curriculum work must be materially broadened. The most significant factor in the improvement of the curriculum is the improvement of the teacher himself. Unless the teacher is expanding his interests, deepening his insights, and modifying his views, little real improvement in the curriculum of the child may be expected. A program of curriculum development, therefore, must be concerned with the rounded and continuous growth of teachers as individuals. In brief, a really adequate organization for curriculum improvement must be concerned with the education of teachers in the broad sense just as much as with the education of boys and girls. Every step in the administration of the curriculum should be tested by questions such as these.

Will this procedure encourage teacher initiative? Will it liberate teacher intelligence? Will it stimulate enthusiasm? A positive answer to these questions is the best assurance that can be had that real curriculum improvement will be accomplished.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE GUIDES

From this consideration of the basic relation of teacher participation to curriculum improvement there emerge certain guides which are of special importance in organizing and administering a curriculum program. The first of these guides is that plans and programs should arise to meet needs which emerge from group thinking. If a plan is to be useful, it must relate directly to a need or difficulty and must be evaluated continuously in terms of its contribution to solution of the problem involved. For teachers to participate effectively in curriculum improvement the need or difficulty which gives rise to plans and programs must be felt by them and recognized as a guide to action. Lacking this basis of evaluation, the activities of teachers can have little meaning to them.

The first responsibility, then, of educational leadership in curriculum development is to arrange conditions in such a way as to make readily possible the study by all educational workers of the problems involved. Leaders are not to say specifically what these problems are, but by creating favorable conditions for careful study, they should make possible the identification and clarification of problems and issues by the entire educational staff.

The emphasis here given to group activity is highly important. In some cases revolt against autocratic administrative procedures has resulted in the opposite extreme of insistence that all teachers be given complete independence and freedom in dealing with curriculum problems. The solution to the problem of autocratic administration is not anarchy. Administra-

tion should provide for cooperative group attacks on problems, and the individual teacher should recognize it as his responsibility to accept the decisions of the group as a basis of action. Recognition of this responsibility by teachers is particularly important in curriculum work, for no teacher alone can develop a satisfactory curriculum. The emerging curriculum can be provided adequate direction only as viewed in terms of the previous experiences of children and the future possibilities. To gain this overview requires that teachers work and plan together and see their respective periods of guidance of a given group of boys and girls in relation to the entire period of growth and development. In this way fragmentary and dispersive experience tends to be avoided and children are protected from the idiosyncracies of individual teachers.

An illustration of the application of this guide in a practical school situation is provided by the procedure employed in the schools of Glencoe, Illinois. In the foreword to a recent publication the procedure is described as follows:

The preparation of experimental curriculum outlines for the Glencoe Public Schools was an enterprise in which pupils, classroom teachers, and parents participated. Experts, specialists, administrators, and supervisory agents contributed to the activity through their writings, participation in group conferences, and by assuming responsibility for some of the technical details of editing and organizing materials.

The outlines in their present form represent, therefore, the results of cooperative group thinking by individuals most immediately concerned with the growth of children—classroom teachers, parents, and the children themselves. It is expected that many individuals will be disappointed not to find a pattern or plan of education emerging from a study of the outlines. There seems to be but one answer to the absence of such pattern or plan. Cooperative group thinking inevitably results in the formulation of transitional policies that at any one time are acceptable and achievable by the persons who are expected to implement them. Classroom teachers cannot

be expected to act intelligently in the administration of an educational program unless they have participated in the formulation of policies and have accepted the implications of such policies as reasonable and desirable. It should be recognized, therefore, that in the development of the present outlines achievement of unity in design has been sacrificed for flexibility and respect for personality.¹

The second guide is that plans and procedures should be developed in terms of the needs, problems, and resources of a given situation. Every situation is unique, and consequently there is no pattern of organization and planning which is generally acceptable in all situations; there is no group of committees which uniformly meets the needs of different situations; there are no fixed steps of procedure. The wide variation in the factors involved in curriculum improvement in different school situations makes clear the importance of this guide. In one school situation a highly centralized form of administration may have prevailed over a period of years, in another little centralization; in one situation there may be available highly competent supervisors, in another no supervision, in one situation there may be great pressure on the school from organizations in the community, in another little pressure, in one situation the teaching staff may be largely composed of well-trained teachers, in another the dominant group may have but little training beyond high-school graduation, in one school the pupils may come from favored economic groups, in another from groups with few economic resources. All of these differences affect not only the kind of curriculum which may be developed but also the procedures and plans which advisedly may be employed for curriculum work. Obviously the problems and issues in these situations will vary and the order of appearance will differ even in somewhat similar situations. Since intelligent participation can only be in terms of problems and issues recognized by the

¹ *Experimental Curriculum Outlines for Glencoe Public Schools*, Foreword.

group, there must be developed for each situation a plan and procedure adapted to its needs and resources. On no other basis can teachers work effectively in a program of curriculum improvement.

This guide does not imply, however, that those working in one situation may not profit from the experiences of those engaged in similar enterprises. Just as in any problem-solving situation, it is important that careful study be made of the way similar problems have been attacked by others. It would be foolish not to canvass all such possible sources of help. But too often in programs of curriculum improvement such study has been for the purpose of finding a plan or procedure which could be imported and used without change. It is this latter procedure which, by leading to imposition of meaningless activities, discourages teacher growth.

The third guide is that aspects of administrative organization should be developed only as problems actually arise. It is a common practice in curriculum programs to set up as a first step an elaborate organization of committees and consultants. Indeed it is only too true that many curriculum programs have been evaluated according to the number of committees in the organization. There are three objections to this practice. In the first place, it gives the impression that curriculum work is something to be carried on largely through committees. Thus the rank and file of teachers find from the beginning little consideration for their activities. Instead of removing consideration from the large teacher group, the whole procedure should be one which centers attention on the work in classrooms and sees committees as means of contributing to problems which are recognized by teachers. In the second place, organization projected in advance of needs leads to many useless committees. It is not uncommon for committees to meet out of a sheer sense of duty and to experience difficulty in defining their function. Such a situation

makes impossible any significant or effective work. In the third place, setting up an elaborate organization in advance makes it impossible to select committee membership wisely for choice of membership must be largely by chance unless the task of the committee has been clearly defined.

Observance of the guide here proposed would keep an organization simple, flexible, and up-to-date. Committees would exist only as long as they had a real function to serve, for as soon as a need was met, in so far as committee action could meet it, the committee would be discharged automatically. Thus, committees would not pile up from year to year. Application of the guide would thus lead to avoidance of much of the "busy work" which creeps into highly formalized programs, and would utilize talent in terms of particular tasks. Most important of all, activities designed to improve the curriculum at all times would be held close to the large group of teachers and to classroom situations.

PLANS AND PROCEDURES

As indicated above, there are no uniformly acceptable plans and procedures in the organization of curriculum work. During recent years, however, recognition of teacher growth as the basis of curriculum improvement has excited marked influence on a number of curriculum programs. Interpretations of this view into practice are as yet far from adequate but the beginnings are highly significant and suggestive.

One of the clear indications of a change in curriculum practices may be seen through the widely varied curriculum materials which are now being published in connection with curriculum programs. Only a few years ago courses of study were the only published materials developed in connection with curriculum work. Now it is necessary to use the term "curriculum materials" because bulletins are so varied in na-

ture. Evidence of this shift in emphasis is found in the fact that libraries and curriculum laboratories are having increasing difficulty in classifying the new bulletins under old course-of-study headings. One annual list of outstanding courses of study has added a new compilation entitled "study bulletins." Consider, for example, the following list of titles of recent curriculum bulletins, none of which is a course of study.

A Guide for Exploratory Work in the Kansas Program for the Improvement of Instruction, State Department of Education, Bulletin No. 3, 1937.

A Guide for Curriculum Planning, Mississippi State Department of Education, Bulletin No. 3, 1936.

Changing Attitudes Through Adult Education, Arkansas Congress of Parents and Teachers, Study Program 1935-36. (A study program for adults on curriculum problems.)

Handbook on Curriculum Study, Oregon State Teachers Association and State Department of Education, *Curriculum Bulletin* No. 1, 1937.

What Does Research Say? State of Michigan Department of Public Instruction, 1937.

Social and Economic Conditions in Alabama and Their Implications for Education, State Department of Education, 1937.

California Teachers' Guide to Child Development in the Intermediate Grades, State Department of Education, 1936.

Looking Ahead with Tennessee, State Department of Education, 1937. (Principal content, examples of good teaching.)

In these materials is found evidence that teacher growth is increasingly being recognized as the basis of curriculum improvement. The point of greatest difference between these new materials and the older type is the kind of activity anticipated from teachers. The older materials tended to present ready-made solutions which teachers were to accept and use, whereas the new materials seek to assist teachers to discover their problems and to develop their own solutions to them.

From these newer practices it is possible to discern certain

trends which are of particular significance in the organization and administration of curriculum work

EMPHASIS ON PROFESSIONAL STUDY

Of particular importance is the emphasis indicated in newer curriculum materials and plans of organization on study by teachers of materials of professional and social significance. A curriculum bulletin in West Virginia illustrated this emphasis. It is stated

The curriculum of any school is going to be improved only as the teachers are open-minded and willing enough to look for that which will give more meaning to what they are trying to do. Each teacher will have some influence—excellent, good, average, poor, harmful—in the education of the youth that pass through his classroom. The teacher must after careful study determine what he is sure is a sound philosophy of education, must decide just what part of that philosophy can best be realized through his work; and must choose the material and methods that will best serve such purposes. To formulate for themselves proper understandings of a sound philosophy, teachers should personally and in group meetings evaluate the results of classroom procedures, should read widely the studies and deliberations of groups working in their chosen fields, interpreting the same in local group meetings, and should through creative contributions bring to the attention of themselves and others the possibility for improvement.

Therefore, this steering committee recommends that provisions be made in every county for group study of the curriculum, bringing to the groups the best thought of modern day educators, clarifying the philosophy back of the present day education, and making available some of the more notable recent studies in curriculum construction. It recommends that every teacher in the state become actively engaged in studying the curriculum and in realizing that the curriculum is just what the teacher makes it.¹

The initial impetus to the organization of study-discussion groups as a regular part of curriculum work was given in Vir-

¹ West Virginia, *Program of Study for Elementary Schools*, 1937, p. 2.

ginia, where a study program was organized as a part of the state curriculum program in 1932. A small study guide was prepared by a central committee and published by the State Department of Education. This included suggestive questions for discussion and bibliographies. Teachers throughout the State were encouraged to organize study-discussion groups and approximately 10,000 teachers and administrators engaged in this activity. The assistance of the colleges of the state was enlisted in carrying the work forward.

Following the Virginia practice a considerable number of curriculum programs have included the organization of study-discussion groups as a major part of the work of curriculum improvement. It was estimated that 35,000 teachers participated throughout a year in group work in Texas, 10,000 in Mississippi, and 12,000 in Kansas. Louisiana, Georgia, Arkansas, Michigan, North Carolina, Oregon, Alabama, and New Mexico are other states which have employed this procedure.

The first of the bulletins developed for study guides were rather highly academic in nature and failed adequately to relate discussion to the problems faced by teachers in their school situations. Gradually, however, as is shown by contrast of the list of topics from two bulletins given below, consideration has been brought to bear more directly on problems of concern to teachers.

1932' <i>Bulletin</i>	1936 <i>Bulletin</i>
Topic I What Is the Curriculum?	What Is the Responsibility of Schools?
Topic II. Developments Which Have Resulted in Need for Curriculum Revision	What Are the Needs for Education in Kansas?
Topic III What Is the Place of Subject Matter in Education?	What Kind of School Does Kansas Need?

Topic IV. Determining Educational Objectives	How Can the Kansas Situation be Improved?
Topic V. Organizing Instruction	How the Kansas Program for the Improvement of Instruction Helps Solve the Problem
Topic VI. Selecting Subject-Matter	
Topic VII. Measuring the Outcomes of Instruction	

Study plans have emphasized particularly the relation of the curriculum to conditions of contemporary life. This has led to a demand for materials relating to social, economic, and political problems and issues. As a result, a number of curriculum bulletins have been produced to serve as source material for teachers in their study. A good illustration of this type of material is a bulletin published recently by the State Department of Education in Michigan under the title *Michigan Today*. The purpose of the bulletin is "to present clearly, simply, and accurately such facts concerning the physical and human resources of Michigan as will enable educators to adjust the school curriculum in the light of the implications these resources have for the education of children."¹ It is significant that this bulletin is presented for the general use of teachers and that curriculum implications are to be drawn by all teachers rather than by a few who undertake to pass them on to others through courses of study. Topics considered follow

1. The Geological and Physical Features of Michigan
2. Land and Forests
3. Michigan's Recreational Industry
4. Mineral Resources
5. The People of Michigan
6. The Family
7. The Community

¹ State of Michigan, Department of Public Instruction, *Michigan Today*, 1937, Preface

8. The Government
9. Transportation and Communication
10. Michigan as an Industrial State
11. Unemployment in Michigan
12. Occupations
13. Some Important Social and Economic Changes
14. Present Status of Michigan Youth
15. Social Planning and Social Change
16. The Rôle of the School as a Social Institution

A slightly different type of bulletin designed for the same general purpose is one published by the State of Alabama under the title *Social and Economic Conditions in Alabama and Their Implications for Education*. The contents follow

- | | | |
|---------|------|---|
| Section | I | Topography, Soils and Climate |
| Section | II. | Population |
| Section | III | Occupations, Income and Wealth |
| Section | IV. | Transportation and Communication |
| Section | V. | Homes in Alabama |
| Section | VI | Religion |
| Section | VII | Health |
| Section | VIII | Crime and Juvenile Delinquency |
| Section | IX. | Recreation |
| Section | X. | Government |
| Section | XI | Utilization and Conservation of Natural Resources |
| Section | XII | Conservation of Human Resources |
| Section | XIII | Schools |

Attention to social conditions and problems as basic to curriculum improvement is further shown in emphasis on social analyses and surveys conducted on a group basis by teachers. This emphasis is direct recognition of the broadened concept of the curriculum and the greater rôle which the teacher must play in curriculum improvement. An interesting illustration of such activity is the work in Birmingham, Alabama, where practically all teachers in the school system participated in an extensive study of such community problems as health, safety, housing, juvenile delinquency, and unemployment. The ex-

tensive report which resulted from this survey was made the basis of group study and later of curriculum modifications carried forward by individual teachers on an exploratory basis. Teachers in Baltimore are now engaged in an extensive study of the life of their city. As a part of the Alabama state program a community survey work-book was prepared for the use of teachers in studying their own communities.

The emphasis on source materials for the use of teachers and study groups which is represented in these practices mark an extension into practice of the concept of the teacher as the basic curriculum-maker. Imperfectly as these newer procedures operate, inconsistent though they frequently are in practice, they indicate a dawning appreciation of the importance of the teacher's rôle in curriculum development.

The success and significance of study-discussion groups is dependent largely on the function which the leaders and teachers believe they should serve. If study-discussion groups are considered by leaders to be instruments for inculcating certain ideas, which when accepted by teachers will make possible the development of a predetermined type of curriculum, the practice has no value as a means of teacher growth and long-time curriculum improvement. Or if professional study of problems stimulated by this procedure is conceived as being a special and separate stage in a program of curriculum improvement, the value of the practice is greatly restricted. On the other hand, if study-discussion groups provide opportunities for teachers to discover and clarify their significant problems and to develop under leadership through group action a plan for attacking these problems, the practice has a great deal of value.

Such groups are most effective in stimulating teacher growth and maintaining teacher cooperation when they are made a containing basis for plans and action. Two points are of particular importance in accomplishing this desirable end.

First, activity in study-discussion groups should be regarded as a regular part of the professional program of teachers. There should not be a separate series of conventional teachers' meetings and conferences on the one hand and an additional program of the type here described. The study-discussion group procedure should gradually absorb all types of group professional activities and become the basis of all plans involved in the operation of the instructional program. Second, the study-discussion groups must deal with the important problems facing the educational system and must recognize that their conclusions exert major influence in the development of plans of action. Unless it becomes evident that the results of such activity influence educational policies and that plans are actually developed upon the basis of opinions so reached, the whole procedure of group study becomes artificial and aimless. Under such circumstances wide participation can be achieved only as a result of external pressure. This type of mandatory participation obviously defeats its own purpose.

There has been great variation from program to program in the use made of the group procedure. In some cases groups have been organized under pressure and attendance has been obligatory. In other cases teachers have found through this procedure a new and important place in developing an organized effort to improve the curriculum. In some cases study has been perfunctory with little effort being made to utilize the result of group study as the basis for planning next steps. In other situations effective means have been provided for making group opinion resulting from study operative as a basis for further action. The Kansas state program is an illustration of a situation in which group judgments growing out of study-group activities have been used as the basis for developing next steps in the program. A special form was submitted to the various study groups after the first year of work to give them a direct means of expressing their opinions. The

introductory paragraph indicates the point of view "This form provides your study group a means of influencing the plans for the second year of the curriculum program. For the program to meet the real needs of Kansas schools the central committee must have a widespread response from study groups. The reports will be studied carefully and the tentative plans for next year revised in light of the suggestions received and implications drawn from the summary of the study topics."¹ Development and trial of various ways of unifying group judgments and utilizing them as a basis for plans and procedures are greatly needed to make teacher participation as effective in curriculum development as it should be.

EMPHASIS ON INNOVATING PRACTICES

One of the most significant limitations of organized curriculum work has been an emphasis on uniformity. In fact, many curriculum programs have been projected primarily for the purpose of defining and fixing standards or indicating content to be covered. Courses of study frequently bear evidence to the limiting effect on individual teachers thus made operative. Despite the many breaks from tradition, the typical course of study is still an outline of topics to be covered in a particular school period, an outline which indicates in some detail the content of each topic and the amount of time to be devoted to it, the point of view to be developed, and the activities, primarily reading, which are to be engaged in by pupils.

Obviously this emphasis in curriculum development defeats the ends which have been considered most important in this volume. Teachers cannot deepen their understanding and increase their vision if they must continually be held back by limitations of a fixed and exacting type which they have no part in defining. Growth demands opportunity for innova-

¹ Kansas State Department of Education. Mimeographed report.

tion, for trial of new ideas, and if general curriculum improvement is to be accomplished, organization of the work must be such as to make this possible.

It is significant that exploratory work by teachers as the basis of curriculum improvement is emphasized in many current curriculum programs. There is increasing acceptance of the idea that actual curriculum modification is accomplished as individual teachers develop improved instructional procedures, and that these procedures are in turn the greatest single source of stimulation to other teachers to improve the curriculum experienced by their students. The influence of this view on practice is seen in a changed conception of the way courses of study should be developed and in the kinds of curriculum materials published. More and more courses of study represent the accumulation of accounts of outstanding work actually done by teachers, accounts presented to stimulate other teachers rather than to be copied by them. As a result of this viewpoint, courses of study are developmental in nature and provide a record of the evolving curriculum, serving to objectify progress. This same emphasis is seen in the widespread publication of accounts of units of work and activities.

In some programs for curriculum improvement, definite steps have been taken to encourage teachers to undertake exploratory work. Michigan, for example, is developing a long-time experimental program in secondary schools which is based directly on innovating practices which teachers wish to undertake. The general purposes are stated in a bulletin of information as follows.

- (a) Development of better methods of selecting students for recommendation to college.
- (b) Friendlier relations and closer cooperation between secondary schools and colleges involving freer and fuller exchange of information.

- (c) Redefinition of the objectives of the secondary school and college.
- (d) An expanded program of evaluation in secondary schools and colleges, including the development and use of better measuring instruments.
- (e) Greater teacher-participation in planning and evaluating instruction.
- (f) Closer teacher-student relationships on a guidance basis.
- (g) Provision for Michigan educators and lay people of the opportunity to observe and appraise various proposed modifications in operation ¹

The Kansas program gives direct encouragement to all teachers to undertake some type of exploratory work. A special bulletin was prepared to assist teachers to plan such an undertaking and members of the State Department of Education aid through conferences and correspondence in so far as possible. This type of activity is obviously far removed from the restrictive type of activities frequently undertaken by state departments of education in traditional programs. The general viewpoint in the program is indicated by the following paragraph from the bulletin.

The Kansas State Program for the Improvement of Instruction has progressed to the work of the second year. The general procedure of the program is to have it grow from the educational and social needs of the state with its roots in the understanding by laymen and professional workers in education of the educational issues and needs in the state. It is not believed by those sponsoring the program that the imposition of predetermined plans will lead to significant educational improvement. Rather, it is held that as those who are concerned with schools come better to understand conditions which affect the work of teachers and pupils, and to see more clearly the educational needs of our state, ways and means will be found of accomplishing lasting improvement ²

¹ State of Michigan Department of Public Instruction, *Proposal for an Experimental Study of the Secondary School Program in Michigan*, 1936, pp. 4-5.

² *A Guide for Exploratory Work in the Kansas Program for the Improvement of Instruction*, 1937, p. 13.

This modification of practice has significant implications for the rôle teachers play in curriculum improvement and the administrative organization for curriculum work. Individual initiative and variation from common practice must be encouraged rather than frowned upon as has been so common in the past. The deviate must be recognized as containing the possibilities of progress as well as the possibilities of retrogression. Plans must be developed, therefore, which encourage individual initiative and change from common practice but which make group judgment effective in protecting children from those deviations which contain greater possibility of retrogression than of advance. This is a situation which can be accomplished only through long and careful cultivation of methods of group action. And so again we arrive at the importance in effective curriculum development of cultivating a procedure of group action.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, there are two points of a practical nature about which a word should be said. We are firmly convinced that teacher growth through greater participation in curriculum development is the only road to real curriculum improvement. We are convinced that recognition of this fact will require the reorientation of many curriculum programs. In seeking these changes in actual situations, however, it must be recognized that the principle of growth is just as basic to the achievement of administrative improvement as it is to any other accomplishment. It is impossible to change suddenly except under a dictatorial procedure. School systems must seek those elements in their own situations which are sound and build on them. Gradually there must be developed in a coordinate relationship greater opportunity for teacher initiative, and willingness and ability on the part of teachers to

assume the added responsibility. The only alternatives are dictation or anarchy, both of which are antithetical to real education.

The second practical point which must be considered centers around teachers and has two aspects. It must be recognized that many teachers, perhaps most teachers, do not want more opportunity for participation in the solution of curriculum problems. They dislike the added responsibility that such participation brings and are never so insistent as when demanding that someone give them the solutions to their problems. Then, too, teachers are not members of a unified group working cooperatively for the all-round development of the child. Large numbers of teachers are identified with special groups which represent vested interests. Between these groups is waged a constant battle for larger and larger emphasis in the curriculum on particular activities or subjects.

These factors in relation to teachers make it especially imperative that adequate educational leadership be provided for curriculum improvement. Teachers will not decide to take on larger responsibilities merely because the administrative organization is changed, nor will vested interests cease their struggle. Leadership must be ever present, stimulating, guiding, suggesting; leadership which is concerned with procedure and has faith to trust the outcome so long as the procedure is sound. Such leadership is the greatest need in developing curriculum programs which make operative the widespread teacher participation and group action which is basic to curriculum improvement.

Chapter XVIII

PROMISING EFFORTS AT CURRICULUM IMPROVEMENT¹



Educational progress will not rise above the level of vision and understanding of an instructional staff. In the last analysis, the curriculum must depend upon the guidance that comes from intimate contact of pupil and teacher. Teachers in the United States have been trained in many different ways because of the large number of higher institutions providing teacher education and the great freedom accorded them to offer whatever courses by whatever methods seem best to them. There is little common basis of philosophy or practice. Because of the great diversity of qualifications set by cities, counties, and states for teacher certification, varying degrees of educational competency are to be found among American teachers. Such is the result of the absence of any centralized system. Each state and city has done that which seemed right to it. While this decentralization has provided for individual initiative, it has not at the same time assured average high levels of ability in the teaching staffs or provided a common basis of educational theory upon which a democratic society might depend for the development of the understandings, attitudes, and appreciations needed by individuals to function effectively in modern life.

¹ This chapter was written by Paul R. Hanna and J. Paul Leonard.

There are to be found in America great differences in curricular practices and philosophy. Some administrators have desired to maintain systems in which little uniformity of practice might be found. Each teacher has been encouraged to consider himself and each of his pupils as unique individuals and to work to develop whatever creative power and individuality might emerge. Teachers in these situations have become adept in ferreting out and building upon the emerging interests of their pupils, varying school procedures to meet the vast differences they find among them.

Other administrators have felt a need for some understanding and acceptance on the part of the mass of teachers of a common philosophy and psychology underlying desirable educational practice and for a basic orientation to the problems of modern society. Many teachers have had little contact with recent philosophical and psychological thought, and many did not find in their periods of training opportunities for guidance in understanding either the problems of modern living or their relationship to school curriculum and organization.

USE OF STATE STUDY BULLETINS

Realizing these varied difficulties and desiring to overcome these barriers to unified action, states, counties, and cities engaging in curriculum reorganization have endeavored to stimulate the thinking of the masses of teachers under their supervision. As pointed out in Chapter XVII, the State of Virginia¹ pioneered in this movement.²

¹ It should be understood that the Yearbook Committee, in citing the curriculum programs in this chapter, does not advocate any particular practices, but presents them as interesting and suggestive efforts.

² *Study Bulletin for Virginia State Curriculum Program*, State Board of Education, Richmond, Virginia, 1937.

Other states—Mississippi,¹ Arkansas,² Georgia,³ Kansas,⁴ Tennessee,⁵ and Oregon⁶—likewise have emphasized group study, using study bulletins prepared by groups of teachers for guidance

INNOVATION IN STATE TEACHERS MEETINGS

The Colorado Education Association is pioneering in teacher education during the school year 1938-39. During the summer of 1938 Harold Benjamin of the University of Colorado prepared a study bulletin at the request of the executive committee of the association. This bulletin developed the topic of "the community and the school." The first part deals with the challenge of the community to the school, and the second section reverses the approach to examine the challenge of the school to the community. Each contains an outline for study together with quotations and selected references

This study bulletin is being used by school people all over the state for a series of faculty meetings during the first two months of the fall term. The staff of each school will read, discuss, and examine the relationships between their own school and its community. Late in October the teachers and administrators of the state will assemble in four strategically located cities for three days of intensive study and discussion. At each

¹ *Mississippi Program for the Improvement of Instruction* Study Program, State Department of Education, 1934.

² *The Arkansas Cooperative Program to Improve Instruction* Study Program, State Department of Education, 1933.

³ *The Organization and Conduct of Teacher Study Groups*, Georgia Department of Education, 1937.

⁴ *The Study Bulletin for the Program for the Improvement of Instruction*, Kansas State Department of Education, 1936.

⁵ *The Tennessee Program for the Improvement of Instruction* Study Bulletin, State Department of Education, 1936.

⁶ *Handbook on Curriculum Study*, State of Oregon Department of Education, 1937.

center, under the leadership of an invited discussion director, the mornings will be spent in deepening the understanding of the rôle that environmental materials should play in the school program of instruction and the rôle the school should play in improving living in the community. In the afternoon thirty to forty small groups will carry on the general theme as it is modified by the particular interests of those enrolled in each group.

This innovation in the annual meetings of state associations, designed to move forward the understanding of teachers and administrators, is one of the more promising approaches to curriculum development—focusing attention on the relation of the school and the community.

CITY STUDY CONFERENCES

Study conferences of a somewhat different type have been tried in cities. Two of them, one at Denver and one at Los Angeles, were quite similar and equally notable for their success. These conferences, both under the sponsorship of the Progressive Education Association and under the leadership of Dr. William H. Kilpatrick, brought together for a few days of intensive work selected teachers and principals of these school systems. These groups studied fundamental issues bearing chiefly on the elementary-school curriculum but related to all education. Dr. Kilpatrick met with chosen leaders from each of the sub-groups. These leaders in turn met with their groups. Handbooks setting forth the issues, questions, and suggestive sources had been prepared in advance.

A group from the Des Moines public schools, during the summer of 1938, prepared a tentative statement for the study and improvement of the curriculum in the upper grades. This material will be used by groups of teachers and principals or-

ganized by buildings during the following school year. The bulletin contains study guides for the following topics.

- The Meaning and Implications of the Fused Program
- The Relationship of the Home and School
- Living and Learning
- Building Intelligence
- Individual Differences
- Personality Adjustment
- Subject Matter
- Democracy in the Classroom

PROCEDURES BULLETINS

Following the study bulletins in the states and cities mentioned above, and discussed in Chapter XVI, have come other bulletins, suggesting procedures for curriculum organization. A second bulletin in the Virginia¹ state program presented reports of the committees on principles, aims, definitions, and production. The bulletin further suggested materials and sources to use in developing units of work, some charts of pupils' interest and desirable activities, and ended with two illustrative units, one each on the elementary and secondary levels.

A Tennessee² state bulletin was devoted chiefly to describing good teaching practices in the schools of the state, with some attention paid to suggestions for unit teaching. Texas followed the pattern of Virginia in giving committee reports but presented these by subject committees. They, too, reported on the characteristics of unit teaching and added some suggestions for needed administrative changes.

The State of Georgia,³ in its curriculum procedures bulletin,

¹ *Procedures for Virginia State Curriculum Program*, State Board of Education *Bulletin*, 1932.

² *Looking Ahead with Tennessee Schools*, The Tennessee Program for the Improvement of Instruction, 1937.

³ *Georgia Program for the Improvement of Instruction*, State Department of Education, May, 1937.

presented statements of the philosophy, aims, and scope of the curriculum. These were followed by sections on the study of the learner, of the community, of evaluation, and by some examples of improvement in practices in Georgia.

The State of Kansas ¹ produced the most voluminous bulletin (384 pages) in which were given the philosophy and aims of the program, and descriptions of plans of curriculum reorganization. Following this were fifteen problems, for each of which were indicated the history and importance of the problem, the aims to be achieved; pupil interests, activities, and community resources to use, a bibliography; and suggestions for use and evaluation of the materials.

The State of Louisiana ² prepared a bulletin to assist teachers in experimenting "with innovating organizations." This bulletin suggested adaptation for rural areas and suggested problems for "try-outs."

The teachers of the City of Santa Barbara, California ³ produced a bulletin setting forth the aims, philosophy, and psychology basic to their program. These were followed by suggestive activities from the kindergarten through the secondary school.

Numerous cities have made use of mimeographed bulletins to carry to all of the teachers in a system reports of committees and conferences held in the city. The city of San Diego, California, for instance, published a series of bulletins under such headings as:

Statement of Principles and Objectives Guiding the Elementary Curriculum Study Program
Instructions to Members of Elementary School Curriculum Com-

¹ *Guide for Exploratory Work in the Kansas Program for the Improvement of Instruction*, State Department of Education, 1937

² *Louisiana Program for the Improvement of Instruction*, State Department of Education, 1937

³ *Developmental Curriculum*, Santa Barbara City Schools Bulletin No. 1, 1938.

mittces on Organization of Curriculum Monographs (on particular units)

Tentative Program of Curriculum Activities for 1937-38
Summary of Trends and Aims Committee Reports

The cities of Tacoma, Washington; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Detroit, Michigan; Evansville, Indiana, Houston, Texas, Flint, Michigan, Grosse Point, Michigan, have issued a series of bulletins of a similar nature. These are designed to keep teachers in constant touch with the various curriculum activities and practices within the systems. All of these bulletins have aimed to make available to teachers a course of in-service education through an attack upon curriculum problems.

In addition to these various study course and procedure bulletins, other kinds of bulletins have been prepared for professional study. The State of Alabama¹ prepared one giving suggestions to superintendents for initiating and organizing curriculum programs in their own localities. This state also developed a bulletin on unit teaching² as did the State of Georgia.³ Georgia also prepared a bulletin⁴ comparing education for democracy in Northern Europe and in Georgia, a unique and interesting curriculum document.

Michigan prepared two unusual bulletins,⁵ one setting forth the physical and institutional resources of the state, another pointing out the contributions of educational research to curriculum problems. The first of these bulletins aimed directly at

¹ *Suggestions to Superintendents on the Initiation and Organization of Local Curriculum Development Programs* State of Alabama Department of Education, 1937.

² *Procedures in Large Unit Teaching*, Suggestions for Improving Instruction, State of Alabama Department of Education, 1937.

³ *The New Curriculum at Work*, Georgia Program for the Improvement of Instruction in the Public Schools, State Department of Education, 1938.

⁴ *Two Georgians Explore Scandinavia*, Georgia Program for the Improvement of Instruction in the Public Schools, 1938.

⁵ *Michigan Today*, Bulletin No. 307, State of Michigan Department of Public Instruction, 1938, and *What Does Research Say?* State of Michigan Department of Public Instruction, 1937.

developing an extended knowledge of the State of Michigan and the second at bringing to the attention of the teachers areas of instruction to which research had made contribution.

SUMMER WORKSHOPS FOR TEACHERS

Another form of teacher education appears in the idea of the summer workshop for curriculum workers. Under the sponsorship of the Progressive Education Association, a group of teachers representing the thirty cooperative high schools in the School and College Experiment met at the George School, in Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1935 to discuss the programs and plans of the cooperating schools. The workshop idea has grown into a plan to bring together in the summer teachers from schools where curriculum programs are in progress to study and work for a short intensive period under the direction of capable leaders. No regular classes are held, but the time is devoted to the study and discussion of problems of the schools represented. During the summer of 1938 three such workshops were conducted, one at Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, New York, one at Colorado Woman's College in Denver, Colorado, and the third at Mills College in Oakland, California.

During the summer of 1938 the State of Michigan made use of the workshop idea by holding one for approximately 125 secondary teachers at the Angell School in Ann Arbor, Michigan. The purpose of this conference was to develop plans and materials for initiating and carrying forward programs of study in the schools represented by the participants. Other states (Virginia, Texas, Mississippi, Arkansas, Georgia) have conducted short summer sessions during which materials for study and experimentation have been prepared. Curriculum laboratories have been conducted by universities to which

states, counties, and cities have sent groups of teachers to work under the guidance of curriculum leaders.

TEACHER EXCURSIONS

Teachers, by the nature of their work in school rooms, are unfortunately isolated from the world of industry, agriculture, commerce, research, and government. In order to compensate for this lack of contact with the world of reality many school systems are providing excursion opportunities for teachers to keep abreast of modern developments. In Santa Barbara County, California, the supervisory bulletins asked teachers whether they desired the county office to organize a series of excursions throughout the year to places of interest in the local community and in the surrounding area. The response was enthusiastic. A preliminary survey of trips was made by a small committee of teachers under the leadership of the county supervisors. The list of available excursions with dates was mailed out to teachers for an indication of their preferences. The final schedule was determined and announced.

Two typical excursions will illustrate the method and results of this phase of a curriculum improvement program. One of the visits was arranged to study the water and soil conservation activities in the vicinity. The group started early one Saturday morning under the leadership of one of the science teachers who had been over the ground several times and had arranged to meet the various soil and water conservation experts. A visit to the mountain area where the city stored its water supply opened the day's trip. Here the necessity for protecting the water shed was pointed out. The group then motored to an area where a soil-conservation project was under way. Here the engineer described and demonstrated the

methods of checking erosion. Areas were examined where denuding had paved the way for sheet erosion, finger erosion, and gullyng. The impossibility of using this land was evident to the teachers, and they were able to understand the effect of this erosion on the valley where washing gravel and clay buried the fertile soil.

The group then descended into the valley. Here the water table was discussed. The type of agriculture prevalent in the region requires great quantities of irrigation water. The maintenance of adequate water supply in this underground natural reservoir is of primary concern to the economic welfare of all in this area. If the water is allowed to run rapidly from the mountain areas to the sea the underground water table is not replenished, another reason for timber and green ground covering on watershed areas. When the water table gets below a stated level, the salt sea water seeps in and the irrigation wells pump salty water over the orchards and crops are harmed by the salt deposits. All of these matters were observed and discussed. Further, the place of government in directing and financing these projects was discussed by those in charge.

Thus in a day's excursion under informal leadership the teachers were given a series of experiences which would broaden their knowledge and insight into basic problems of our culture. After such an experience the teacher would be able to help her pupils see the fundamental place soil and water conservation play in the wealth and happiness of a community. When such a field experience is followed by study of the problem on a regional and national scale, the teacher is much better equipped to lead her pupils in sensing relationships between science, economy, government, and all phases of our current life.

A second illustration of this type of teacher education-in-service program in Santa Barbara may be indicated. There are in the vicinity rich deposits of artifacts left by extinct Indian

cultures and many well preserved remains of the early Spanish and Mexican peoples who subsequently destroyed the Indian's civilization. These realia demonstrate graphically the differences which may exist from culture to culture although these cultures may be superimposed one on the other in the same environment, same soil, same mountains and valleys, same climate, and near the same sea. No experience in developing such insight of cultures is as valuable as first-hand contact with cultural remains. The teacher went to the site of an extinct Indian village and there under the supervision of the archaeologist from the city museum they turned over the soil looking for the stone and shell tools and vessels used by these earlier dwellers. As arrowheads, beads, and pottery were found, the group pieced together the evidences into a conception of how these red men had lived there long ago without modern tools and techniques.

The group visited caves in nearby mountains to view with magnifying glasses the painted pictures and scratched symbols left by these early people. They returned to the museum to study with the curator the organized evidence of these simple people.

Near the museum the group noted the remains of the old water-storage system built by the mission padres when they came to christianize and educate these Indians in the eighteenth century. Farther down the canyon is the well preserved mission built by Indian labor out of native materials under the direction of the padres. In the mission are valuable records of this early period of Spanish domination.

In the community are a great number of other equally interesting and instructive material remains which the group noted. Out of it all came a fresh awareness of the relation of environment and culture, of continuous change in tools and in social arrangements and customs, and of many other relationships that would affect teaching from then on.

Of the outcomes from such curriculum development experiences, none is more significant than the feeling which each participant has that personally he is growing. The enthusiasm which serves as an overtone in such new adventure is a precious quality of the good teacher, when one is having adventure he shares a positive attitude with those in his circle of influence, and pupils will be the better for having teachers who are dynamic and growing personalities.

SOURCE MATERIALS FOR TEACHERS

Still another type of curriculum improvement has attracted a good deal of attention. The director of curriculum for Los Angeles county has carried forward a WPA project for several years for the purpose of preparing accurate and specific materials to place in the hands of classroom teachers. A series of bulletins have been issued on scores of topics, as the need for them is suggested by the teachers in working out the new curriculum pattern. For instance, the primary grades study then community and one aspect of this exploration is the dairy. One bulletin of fifty pages supplies the teacher with useful information that would be difficult to obtain personally. Quoting from the foreword of this bulletin.¹

This monograph on the dairy and the creamery has been prepared to help supplement the firsthand observations of teachers who are carrying on units of work on this phase of community life. It is intended primarily for lower grade teachers, but it is arranged in such a fashion as to be useful to any elementary teacher concerned with the dairy industry.

Practically every primary teacher who uses this monograph has visited a dairy one or more times and remembers much specific information about it. However, as children in classrooms build

¹ *The Dairy, A Monograph of Source Materials for Teachers Curriculum Bulletin P-110-B, County Superintendent's Office, Los Angeles*

then dairies and play with the people, buildings, equipment, and implements they are making, there arise innumerable questions about small details that would tax the memory of anyone. Children want to know how things look, how they are made. It is to help answer these questions that we have placed this material in compact usable form. The purpose underlying the preparation of source materials will be defeated completely if teachers permit this supplementary material to replace firsthand experiences gained by field trips and actual observation.

This monograph includes practically all aspects of the dairy and the creamery. Every effort has been made to include only thoroughly reliable and up-to-date information. While most of the material pertains directly to California dairies some information about eastern dairies has been included also. Teachers will notice that at no time does the monograph give a portrayal of any specific one of the dairies to be found in Southern California. It has been our aim to give a general picture of the dairy industry, rather than a definite picture of any one plant.

The monograph contains very clearly drawn sketches of different breeds of milch cows and a brief description of each type, different types of dairy barns are drawn and described; ventilation, water, feed, and sanitation devices and schemes are depicted, the processes of cleaning before milking, hand and machine milking are drawn with diagrammatical sketches, the steps in cooling, transporting, and receiving milk are presented, the methods of pasteurizing and bottling are shown, and finally pictures show detailed steps in delivery of milk to homes and retail establishments. The last two pages give a carefully selected list of books and materials that are available for pupil and teacher in the county library.

With such supplementary material to draw from the teacher feels much more secure in guiding the developing unit on the dairy. The entire offering of such bulletins represents a rich storehouse of readily available instructional materials which are needed in the modern curriculum.

THE USE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL
FOUNDATIONS IN CURRICULUM PROGRAMS

Recently teachers have begun to develop programs based upon an analysis of the character of the society which the school serves and the nature of the individual to be educated. The philosophy underlying these programs indicates that the basic needs of society and of children and youth should determine the nature of the curriculum, defined as whatever learning the school influences. The teacher must discover some way to incorporate both the principles of organismic development and the needs of a dynamic society. Believing that the curriculum should not represent a series of discrete subjects but units of experience developed around an individual, curriculum leaders have tried to find ways to effect changes which would implement such a philosophy. To do this several means have been utilized.

Reference has already been made to the study bulletins which provide bibliographies and discussion questions bearing upon developments in psychology and in social, economic, and political theories. Many references were also made to the conditions of modern social living and to the resources and possibilities for social improvement.

These bulletins provide the material with which study groups could come to grips with issues and problems of today as they bear upon educational theory and practice.

AIMS OF EDUCATION

Evidence of the impact of this reading and thinking is to be found in several ways. One of these is in the aims of education set forth by committees of teachers. In Virginia, sixty-seven general aims were stated, only seventeen of which dealt

with the skills. The rest of these were attitudes, appreciations, and generalizations. Such statements as these are typical

- The attitude of constructive participation in social life.
- The appreciation of shared activity.
- The understanding of the necessity of man's adaptation to changing conditions
- The understanding of democracy as a method of living and thinking.

These statements are a far cry from the aims stated by national subject committees of twenty years earlier. They reflect the impact of thinking in terms of social problems of today and of an acceptance of a belief that the school should share in social improvement.

The Kansas program suggests aims by characterizing the individual who will live in a democracy with greatest satisfaction to himself and others. It indicates that such a person should possess such characteristics as the following.

- A high degree of personal integrity
- The scientific attitude
- A deep appreciation of the beautiful in human relations

Georgia and Mississippi followed in general the same procedure as Kansas, while Arkansas followed a pattern similar to that developed in Virginia.

Santa Barbara, California, followed the plan of indicating the characteristics of an ideal individual living in a democracy. The following eight qualities were indicated.

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| Critical-mindedness | Purposefulness |
| Appreciativeness | Resourcefulness |
| Dependableness | Spiritual-mindedness |
| Cooperativeness | Prudence |

Each of these eight was further defined. They were followed by descriptions of the ways an individual possessing these qualities would be expected to function socially, economically, politically, esthetically, and spiritually, in personal efficiency.

Los Angeles, California, lists such aims as the following

The development of social responsiveness

The development of the attitudes, methods, and practices of co-operation

Personal development for the sake of the group

Another evidence of the effect of the literature of modern psychology and current social problems is to be found in many programs in what is commonly called "scope and sequence." A scope and sequence is a framework of values defining broadly the areas which society may feel to be important for all children and youth to explore. Within these areas children's interests are found and problems are developed, checked by the items of the scope for reference to basic human needs and by the items of the sequence for continuity, unity, and order.

The idea of scope and sequence is not new, but the content as worked out in certain curriculum studies is quite different. In the traditional school the scope and sequence were represented by the areas covered by the text within particular fields. The statements of scope and sequence today reflect clearly the desire on the part of curriculum workers to focus attention upon selecting problems with reference to basic human needs and to the essential conditions of social living. It is designed to help the school to pay attention to some orderly development of the major aims of education, conceived in a transitional society still wishing to develop both a unity for group action and competence for personal uniqueness.

As an illustration of a statement of scope and sequence, the program of Santa Barbara, California, is presented. The items

of the scope, representing clusters of human activities are as follows

Scope

Developing and conserving personal resources
 Developing and conserving other than personal resources
 Producing, distributing, and consuming goods and services
 Communicating
 Transporting
 Recreating and Playing
 Expressing and Satisfying Spiritual and Esthetic Needs
 Organizing and Governing

Sequence

The sequential statements, suggesting a focus of attention for each grade level, are as follows:

- Kindergarten-Grade I* Growth in Effective Living Through Self-Adjustment within the *Immediate Environment*
Grade II Growth in Effective Living Through *Adjustment to the Community*
Grade III Growth in Effective Living By Further Adjustment to the Community Through the Development of Insights into the Manner in Which the *Natural and Controlled Environment* is Contributing to Life in the Community
Grade IV Growth in Effective Living by Further Adjustment to the Community Through the Development of Insights into the Manner in Which the *Present Culture-Groups Have* Adjusted to Life *In Our Community*
Grade V Growth in Effective Living Through the Development of Insights into the Manner in Which *Present as Compared with Former Culture-Groups* Carried on the Basic Functions of Human Living in *Santa Barbara and California*
Grade VI Growth in Effective Living Through Experience with *Modern Technics* Utilized in Carrying Out the Basic Functions of Human Living in the *United States*.
Grade VII Growth in Effective Living Through Experiences with Such *Newer Technics* as Are Causing Rapid Social and Economic Changes and Increasing the Interdependence of People *Throughout the World*.

Grade VIII-IX: Growth in Effective Living Through the Development of Insights Making for a More Intelligent Use of Newer Techniques and Discoveries in the Biological and Inorganic Environment.

Grade X-XI-XII and on: Growth in Effective Living Through Realizing Values Consistent with American Ideals

PROBLEMS FOR CLASSROOM STUDY

A third line of evidence of the effect of modern sociological and psychological thinking is to be found in the statements of problems developed out of patterns of scope and sequence or with reference to basic aims. These problems reflect again the belief in the need for attention to the development of individuals through the study of problems vital to them and for a need for choosing problems which may develop desirable social understanding and behavior. Mississippi lists the following as suggestions for problems in Grade Twelve:

- Developing an adequate medical service for more people at a reasonable cost
- Protecting the consumer from harmful patent medicines
- Using labor laws and social insurance to improve work conditions and health
- Adjusting home life to trends and changes in the home
- Planning towns and cities
- Developing and conserving natural resources on a regional basis
- Developing and using synthetic products
- Adjusting society to a changing civilization
- Making our economic organization more efficient and more secure
- Changing the schools to meet the needs of a changing civilization
- Developing freedom of worship and religious tolerance
- Adapting a philosophy of life to changing conditions
- Choosing esthetic enjoyment wisely
- Providing esthetic enjoyment for larger numbers of people
- Providing recreational opportunities and facilities for larger numbers of people

Kansas lists such problems as the following:

Protecting Life on Kansas Highways
Combating Soil Erosion
Conserving Our Minerals
Buying Foods Wisely
Buying Our Clothing Wisely
Using Power Wisely
Managing a Personal Financial Budget
Providing Protection for Old Age, Sickness, and Accident
Improving Housing Conditions
Recognizing the Use of Propaganda
Selecting and Enjoying Motion Pictures
Providing Reading Opportunities in the Community
Providing and Using Parks and Playgrounds
Preventing Juvenile Delinquency
Understanding My School

Denver, Colorado, suggests such problems as these:

Grade 10

Orientation to the school
What it means to think, the discernment of propaganda; widening one's intellectual and esthetic interests through motion pictures, radio, and press
Personal relations and income in the modern family
Personal aspects of mental and physical health
Boy and girl relationships
Group organizations in the city

Grade 11

The unique characteristics of democracy in America
Documents of democracy and leaders of American life
America's provision for living—housing, city planning, crime, recreation

Grade 12

Influence of transportation upon American culture
Production and distribution—dependence upon this, changes in ways of producing, cultural problems of mass production
Vocational adjustment

Los Angeles proposes such problems as the following

Grade 8

Our Los Angeles Community
Men and Machines

Grade 10

Developing My Personality
My Educational Environment

Grade 11

Safety
Promoting Our General Welfare by Government

Grade 12

Consumer Problems
Family Relationships and Personality Development

The secondary schools in Santa Barbara County list such as the following:

How is increasing technology affecting the working conditions of our people?

How can we prevent unnecessary accidents?

How does modern scientific warfare affect people?

What is a reasonable personal budget for me?

How has science aided us in reclaiming vast areas of our country?

How is mass production changing market demands?

How are scientific inventions affecting our means of communicating?

How can we select and enjoy motion pictures?

How is the movement of masses of people affecting the distribution of culture?

How are the functions of government increasing?

How can I make the most of my educational activities?

How can we care properly for children?

How can we make more intelligent use of natural resources by regional planning?

How can we provide adequate housing facilities for our people?

How should we use means of communication to form public opinion?

How can we make ourselves attractive?

How can we improve our relations with other nations?

Even a casual glance at these statements will indicate an attention devoted to modern problems not found previously in curriculum programs. Problems of both immediate personal concern and of larger social concern are suggested. The approach cannot help but be problematic with subject-matter of factual and informative type being introduced when it serves to clarify points and fulfill needs. The study of shifts in psychological thought and of the needs of modern life has affected curriculum organization. Probably at no other time in the history of curriculum reform in America has there been as much consistency in building classroom procedure and materials upon the basis of a point of view and expressed aims

PARTICIPATION OF LAY GROUPS IN CURRICULUM PROGRAMS

The American system of education places great stress upon local support and approval of educational practice. Within this organization no school can proceed faster than the community is willing to approve. Traditionally, parents have been taught to consider the school as an institution where selected phases of past cultures and certain types of skills are to be taught. To enlarge the concept of the school as modern curriculum programs are advocating requires a degree of community education comparable relatively to the education of the professional staff. States and cities have recognized this need and have made provision for it.

Virginia, after the basic philosophy and aims had been formulated by the professional staff, called together under the direction of the state superintendent of instruction a group of recognized social and civic leaders—lawyers, editors, clergymen, business managers, industrial leaders, and labor leaders—to spend time discussing the philosophy and aims. Each in-

dividual was then asked to respond, either by expressing his approval or his suggestions for modifying the statements.

PARENT STUDY BULLETINS

In the states of Arkansas, Texas, and Kansas special study bulletins were prepared similar to the ones prepared for teachers. These bulletins for parents were written in non-professional language but dealt with problems of school needs. Arkansas produced two bulletins,¹ one to treat new ideas of social and political change and to focus attention upon the adult education essential to bring about some necessary changes in social institutions; the other to focus attention directly upon the conditions and needed changes in Arkansas schools. The first was prepared under the direction of Arkansas Congress of Parents and Teachers and the second by professional educators. Both were printed and distributed by the Congress of Parents and Teachers for lay study groups.

The twenty-third annual convention of the Kansas Congress of Parents and Teachers meeting at Parsons April 8 and 9, 1936, adopted a resolution pointing out that,

We are mindful of the necessity for the home and school jointly to share in the responsibility of creating favorable public opinion toward education and a wholesome environment in which the work of the schools may be conducted.

To carry out this aim the Congress sponsored preparation of a parent's study bulletin, written by a group of Kansas teachers, entitled "The Parent's Study Bulletin of the Kansas Program for the Improvement of Instruction."

The bulletin was divided into four chapters.

¹ *Changing Attitudes Through Adult Education*, Study Program, 1935-1936; and *Parent Cooperation in the Arkansas Cooperative Program to Improve Instruction*, Study Program, 1934.

Introduction

What are the needs for education in Kansas?

What kinds of schools does Kansas have?

How parents may improve this situation.

Local study groups were organized by the parent-teacher association throughout the state to study the problems set forth in these bulletins.

PROGRAMS OF LEGISLATIVE ACTION

Another phase of curriculum progress is recognized in programs of legislative action designed to make possible a better equipped teaching staff, school support, and school equipment. In many states programs for larger state support and for equalization of educational opportunities have been promoted by state departments in conjunction with state programs of curriculum development.

In the State of Kansas three definite educational gains were made in the legislature of 1937. Realizing that desirable educational progress could not be made without adequate support, textbooks, and teachers, the State Teachers Association waged a campaign to improve conditions in these fields. In response to these requests the State Legislature in 1937 passed three bills. One of these provided for state aid for elementary schools, grades one to eight, such aid to become operative when state funds were available from a sales tax put into effect on June 1, 1937. The second bill provided for a state certification law, putting into the hands of the State Department of Education the exclusive authority to issue all teaching certificates. The third bill transferred the duties of the state textbook commission to the State Board of Education. It also set up an advisory committee made up of administrators, supervisors, and teachers, empowering them to advise the state board upon the selection of textbooks and prevent-

ing the State Board from selecting textbooks not recommended by this advisory committee.

In Delaware the schools have sought to interest the citizens in desirable school changes. A recent bulletin from the city of Wilmington,¹ designed to show parents and teachers some of the desirable changes taking place in Wilmington schools, indicates some of the public action as follows:

Every session legislative committees composed of representatives of all civic and service clubs interested in public education worked for the passage of constructive, and the defeat of destructive, legislation. Gains for the most part were held and backward steps prevented.

As fine building after fine building emerged, the public asked more and more, "Is the teaching as modern as the buildings?" In order to motivate a more intensive effort in this direction, the citizen association offered to finance a demonstration school. It was located for the convenience of those teachers-in-service who otherwise would have few opportunities for observation. The State Board of Education and the State University were represented on its governing council. Promising Delaware teachers, selected to comprise one-half of the faculty of the school, were paid their regular salaries while serving as apprentice teachers in three of the county's pattern-setting schools. The best teachers that could be interested from the country at large were brought to Delaware to make up the other half of the faculty. For two years visits were scheduled for all rural teachers, extension courses, under the auspices of the University, were given by members of the faculty at the demonstration center.

Along with all of this there was effort to help the adult part of the population discover some of the changing objectives in education. A strong bureau of adult education supplied leadership for any fifteen people who wished to engage in activities which afforded opportunity for individual growth. A child psychologist who worked to bring the parents some conception of the modern mental hygiene viewpoint, was added to the staff. Teachers whose practice conformed to the mental hygiene principles under discussion were brought from some of the country's most advanced communities.

¹ L. T. Hopkins and Delaware Teachers, *Pupil-Teacher Learning*, pp. ix-x

Opportunity was provided for parents to observe them at work with children. Gradually more than six thousand adults were participating in evening classes which made them in one way or another more capable of understanding the ideal of schools adjusted to the individual needs of their pupils.

Thus education is coming more to be a product of community action, establishing in the communities a feeling of competence and responsibility for dealing with school needs. To educate the community to where it understands the opportunities for the school and to get it to cooperate with professional educators to demand an adequate program for the development of children and youth is to move forward in educational practice.

PLANNING FOR CONTINUOUS CURRICULUM REVISION

The development of thinking in this fashion in both the community and the professional staff, assures a basis for continuous action in educational improvement. If a consciousness of growing possibilities can be kept in mind, there will exist less need for sporadic campaigns for school improvement or for definite periods devoted to removing the educational lag.

Recognizing this, cities and states have set up programs for continuous curriculum development and have placed supervisors and curriculum directors in lines of major responsibility for carrying on these programs. The city of Denver, Colorado, one of the pioneers in curriculum development, has recognized the need for such an organization.

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

In many communities the focus in curriculum development can be found in the expression—the *Community School*. This has two major phases. (1) the utilization of the rich environ-

mental materials in the community to replace or supplement the typical textbook centered curriculum; and (2) the concept of the school as the creative and purposive intelligence of the community with a responsibility of contributing through socially useful projects to the improvement of community life.

The Glenridge Elementary School in Clayton, Missouri, has organized its curriculum largely in terms of a study of the community. The pupils at various grade levels take selected aspects for investigation. In the primary grades they study their home and the community contribution to home life. In the intermediate grades the city of Clayton and local pioneer history become typical units of work. In the upper grades units on city planning, transportation, and newspapers in Clayton are developed.

In the Northwestern University-Evanston unit of the Evanston Township High School the staff is concentrating on the community school. (Quoting from an early bulletin ¹

The educational viewpoint outlined [herein] is based upon a conception of child and adult education in which local community conditions are studied for their understandings and improvement, all of which serves as a basis for study and learning in the larger national and world scene. Where this emphasis is being made in other school systems over the country teachers and administrators are engaged in making a thorough study of the communities they serve.

During the past summer the staff of the Northwestern-Evanston unit made such a study of Evanston. A survey was carried on in connection with primary purpose—first, the study of community resources which might be used in developing a curriculum for high-school pupils; and second, the carrying on of exploratory thinking as to ways in which pupils might aid adults in improving the life of their own community.

The community areas which were chosen for study by the group are as follows:

¹ *Planning a Community School*, Curriculum Laboratory, School of Education, Northwestern University, *Service Bulletin* No. 4, February, 1938.

Understanding the Community Setting
Protecting Life and Health
Making a Home
Getting a Living
Expressing Religious Impulses
Satisfying the Desire for Beauty
Securing an Education
Cooperating in Social and Civic Action
Engaging in Recreation
Improving Material Conditions

There is no intention on the part of the staff of the Northwestern University unit to work out a detailed course of study in advance, based upon its findings in the survey and then teach this to unsuspecting high-school pupils. Their purpose in the initial planning was rather to discover the educational possibilities of the community of Evanston in order that they might more intelligently lead children to discover these possibilities for themselves.

The Michigan Secondary-School Association has projected a twelve-year study of the community school as the focal point for the reorganization of the secondary schools.¹ In this program the support of the State Department of Education and a grant from the General Education Board aid the secondary school people in carrying forward the work.

The vice principal of the John Marshall High School in Minneapolis, Eldon Mason, reports an interesting adventure in community survey by staff and pupils. Recently two hundred seniors and twenty-seven faculty members voluntarily joined in a sociological survey of a community similar to their own. They spent the fall studying sociological survey techniques and selecting a community. The community chosen was Memphis, Tennessee. A contact by correspondence was made with the various public and private agencies in Memphis. The Memphis newspapers were studied daily. Histories, brochures, and similar data were thoroughly examined. The

¹ See the files of *The Bulletin of the Michigan Secondary-School Association*.

seniors raised a large budget with which to make the trip and spend an extended period of time in Memphis making their survey. In the spring the group journeyed to Memphis where then various committees made the studies for which they had prepared. One group thoroughly examined the industries of Memphis; another group reviewed the history of this community; another group looked into the recreational life; still another group analyzed the cultural aspects. At the end of a week these groups had delved into most of the important human activities of this community and had collected a vast amount of raw material out of which they were to make a relatively exhaustive report. They returned to John Marshall High School and spent the rest of the spring working over their materials in preparation of the final volume.

Probably the best source of reports of what schools are doing to reorganize their curricular programs along lines of community emphasis is found in a publication of the Society for Curriculum Study.¹ In this volume are full accounts of nine community school curricula, including such a variety of situations as Franklin High School of New York City, the Highlander Folk School of Tennessee, the schools of Glencoe, Illinois, the Community Schools of Waialua, Hawaii, and a consolidated rural school in Ypsilanti, Michigan.

Another publication reviews promising efforts of schools and service agencies to guide children and youth in socially useful projects for community improvement.² Some two hundred projects are reported to illustrate ways in which youth have improved the health, safety, civic beauty, agricultural and industrial practice, restored natural resources, and surveyed and restored historic materials.

¹ Samuel Everett, editor, *The Community School* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1938).

² Paul R. Hanna, *Youth Serves the Community* (A publication of the Progressive Education Association, New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936).

Each community faces a set of problems different from any other locality, and youth in analyzing these needs grows in its power to sense the demands of each new and novel situation. Further, in such cooperative projects youth comes to see the values of the method itself in attaining those ends set out as desirable. The energies of youth, spent in this manner, can in the pursuit of such worthy social enterprises be harnessed to the benefit of all, rather than wasted in self and socially destructive ways. Those schools in which such curricular emphasis has been tried report great gains both to learners and to the community.

In all these innovations in curriculum development is stress on first-hand experiences and on using all the sense organs for gaining impressions of the world of reality. Where once the school depended almost exclusively on the printed page for gaining ideas, today the school utilizes sounds, smell, tastes, sights, feelings. Children are taken in to the community to observe first hand the things of interest. We speak of visualizing the curriculum. The number of schools in which this phase of curricular reorganization is consciously stressed is approaching a majority in this country.

SHIFTS IN EMPHASIS FROM SUBJECTS TO SOCIAL AND PERSONAL OBJECTIVES

In the previous section reference was made to a pattern of scope and sequence of major learnings. Such a concept of a curricular design affects the planning and action of a school staff in at least four ways. (1) it requires the acceptance of a common basis of understanding regarding the nature and purpose of the school program; (2) it provides opportunity for cooperative planning and teaching, (3) it makes necessary the grouping of learning experiences around the frame-

work of values defined, and (4) it leads to a breakdown of discrete subject lines.

The scope and sequence pattern from Santa Barbara reflects the thinking of groups of teachers in that city. If used it must be designed by teachers to provide continuity in the school program, both in its basic concept of how learning shall proceed and of what problems are most important. Such a design for constant reference, not for restriction of content, tends in the judgment of those using it, to provide for the enrichment and continuity of each experience.

With such agreement as to purpose and the nature of desirable learning experiences, the need for cooperative planning is defined. Without group planning individual efforts may become ineffective and unrelated. To prepare a design of desirable sequential experiences and to teach under such a guide call upon the combined resources of the entire staff and demand intelligent and broadly educated teachers.

If this common framework is to function in actual learning situations, learning experiences must be regrouped. Formal subject groupings do not meet the need, for the framework transcends subject lines. Realistic experiences recognize no subject boundaries. Hence the shift in thinking from subject topics to problems based upon personal and social needs becomes necessary. By reference back to the problems indicated in the preceding section, the idea under discussion may become clearer. Problems of wise consumption draw from such traditionally defined areas as social studies, science, or home economics. To understand the problems adequately, unity of the elements involved needs to be achieved.

Quite naturally then this leads to the fourth idea, that of breaking down subject-matter lines. Subject lines do not define areas of interest or experience for children and youth. The development of bounded interests is the outcome of adult experience and scholarship. Sanctification of subject

boundaries precludes adequate attention to individual needs. Therefore, if study is to be based upon problems related to basic needs, the areas into which these problems extend must be of first importance. The application of such a belief supports intolerance for subject divisions in the elementary school and indicates the need for lessened attention to these divisions in the secondary school.

THE EXPERIENCE CURRICULUM IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

These principles can probably be clarified by reference to practices in specific situations. For several years Lincoln School of Teachers College has built its classroom experiences upon the interests and environment of children. Study for a year of such interests is *Carrying the Mail*,¹ *Western Youth Meets Eastern Culture*,² *Indian Life and the Dutch Colonial Settlement*,³ and *Ships and Navigation*.⁴ have called upon the entire staff of the school for planning and for cooperative teaching in grades one to seven, as well as for extended research on the part of the one teacher chiefly responsible for a particular group of pupils.

Several recent publications describe elementary school practices in cities somewhat similar to that of the Lincoln School. In an elementary school in San Jose, California,⁵ the units are organized around such interests as the *Local Community of San Jose*, the *Life in Early California*.

¹ Avah W. Hughes, *Carrying the Mail* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933).

² Swerney, Barry, Schoellkopf, *Western Youth Meets Eastern Culture* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932).

³ Keebol and Severt, *Indian Life and the Dutch Colonial Settlement* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931).

⁴ Baxter and Young, *Ships and Navigation* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933).

⁵ Horrall, Adams, Willson, and Rhodes, *Let's Go to School* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938).

James Tippet and the staff of the Parker School District of Greenville, South Carolina,¹ have developed units around such centers of interest as *Mexico*, *Textiles*, and *Local History of South Carolina*.

SECONDARY-SCHOOL REORGANIZATIONS

In the secondary school marked changes are also being made. To provide for the study of personal and social problems classes known as *core courses* are being organized. For several years Denver, Colorado, has had core courses in the Eastern High School. During the school year of 1938-1939 about two hundred and twenty sophomores in this school will be grouped into six core classes, each class meeting for three hours a day under one teacher. Teachers, parents, and pupils will determine the amount of time to be devoted to the core in grades eleven and twelve. Time outside the core will be devoted to elective subjects. Each of the six teachers involved will continue to work as counselor to one group throughout the three years. The teachers assuming responsibility for the core are trained in art, home economics, English, social studies, guidance, science, and mathematics. Other teachers trained in counseling, oral expression, industrial arts, and music will assist in the work. Cooperation in planning and teaching on the part of all of these teachers is necessary for the success of the course. The problems listed for study in this core course are given on page 493.

In Santa Maria, California, core classes have been organized for the school year 1938-39 in grades nine, ten, and thirteen. These core classes choose such problems as the following for study

¹ James Tippet, *Schools for a Growing Democracy* (Boston, Ginn & Co., 1936)

Grades 9 and 10

How is technology affecting the unemployment of people?

What vocational planning is desirable for me?

How is our water supply serving human needs?

How have industrial processes made the protection of the consumer necessary?

How can I buy wisely for the home?

How can we arrange the home attractively?

How is education changing?

Grade 13

What is the place of the family in our technological society?

How can we solve the rice problem?

How can increasing governmental functions be financed?

What is the place of organized religion in our culture?

The classes meet for two hours a day in grades nine and ten and for one hour a day in grade thirteen under the direction of one teacher. Different sections of these classes within a grade are taught by teachers with different experience and education. Each week for one hour those teachers, educated to teach science, social science, and English, meet to discuss the demands which each problem makes upon their experience. As a result of this cooperative planning each teacher is able to provide for his own group richer experiences than any one of them would do alone from the knowledge of his special field. During the experiences in these core classes teachers discover individual needs and capacities and direct pupils into classes organized as elective courses in subject fields. The extent of the elective offerings not only depends upon what the school can supply with its equipment and staff but what is needed by the pupils to develop manifested interest and needs.

In other school systems where no over-all design of a scope and sequence nature has been developed, changes are being made through the existing subjects. Here too attention is being focused upon personal and social problems to develop the aims of education previously set up by the school.

In Tulsa, Oklahoma,¹ a core course is built around three major areas: (1) personal development, (2) development toward mature participation in a democratic society, and (3) development of the essential skills of communication and expression. Under these areas study is devoted to such problems as prevention of disease; effect of economic conditions on health, selection of appropriate foods for the family, fads, fallacies, and superstitions; adequate standards of living, safety, commercialized vs. creative amusements; the individual's relation to a group; and the nature and principles of personal development.

In Los Angeles, California,² a course on senior problems, dealing with such questions as the following:

How can the home serve as a background for the individual?

How can family activities contribute to the successful home?

How can the home serve as a center for entertaining friends?

In grade eleven a course on American Life and Institutions treats such problems as these:

Democracy: the American Way

Educational Opportunity in America

The American Laborer

The Machine: Master or Slave?

Both of these courses require cooperative planning on the part of the entire staff. They also provide ample opportunities for cooperative teaching wherever art, home economics, and science teachers possess the needed understanding.

In the junior high school in Los Angeles, California, a social living course³ is offered for two hours a day for three

¹ *Building a Core Curriculum in the Tulsa Public Schools*, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1937.

² *Senior Problems*, Los Angeles, California City School District, Publication C-144.

³ *Modifications in the Program of Studies for the Junior and Senior High Schools of the City*, Los Angeles, California City School District, Circular 78-87.

years. In grade seven the study revolves around social and scientific aspects of American culture; in grade eight attention is focused upon community life, and in grade nine the course deals with world cultures. These courses provide for cooperative planning and for the unification of previously organized discrete subject courses.

In the Francis W. Parker School in Chicago a basic two year physical science course entitled "The Contributions of Science to Our Life Today"¹ is offered in grades eleven and twelve. This course deals with problems of machines, labor, growth of cities, international relations, geographical aspects, world use and social implications of the physical sciences.

Marked advance has been indicated also by the plans drawn up by the various curriculum committees coöperating with the School and College Experiment of the Progressive Education Association. The following reports of these committees make clear their contributions toward the reorganization of existing courses:²

Rosenblatt, Louise, *Literature as Exploration*, Commission on Human Relations

Reports of Committees of the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum.

Science in General Education (published)

Tentative Reports on Social Studies, Mathematics, and Language

These promising innovations, whether under a plan of scope and sequence or within existing subject boundaries, or growing out of pupil interests and needs, indicate decided trends toward a larger focus of attention upon the study of individual and social problems and upon the necessity for coöperative planning and teaching on the part of the total school staff. Subject distinctions are becoming increasingly

¹ Hal. Baird, *The Contributions of Science to Our Life Today* (Francis W. Parker School, Chicago, Illinois, 1936).

² Published by D. Appleton-Century Co., New York

unimportant, and attention is centering upon the unification of materials looking toward greater integration on the part of the learner.

FUNCTIONAL LEARNING OF THE SKILLS

Recently many schools and national groups have turned to improving the learning of the skills. Less emphasis is placed on logical order of presenting the skills and less on drill as such. The attention is given at first to finding in the learner's daily living opportunity for the use of the skill in order that the meaning may be clear to the learner.

The National Council of Mathematics Teachers through a committee on arithmetic is approaching the teaching of this skill subject in a more functional and meaningful manner. Investigations for a yearbook are being undertaken to discover the normal situations that arise in the home, school, and community life of children in which the demand for number is evident. These number demands are being analyzed in an effort to find the psychological approach to arithmetic skill. In a similar manner the National Council of Teachers of English in its experience curriculum¹ suggest teaching methods which root in the learner's experiences rather than in systematic courses of study. Reading is seen by the learner as a tool by which he can gain additional information on the problem of interest to him. Spelling, grammar, handwriting, and other language skills are drawn in to the learning pattern as they are needed to carry forward life for the learner. The impetus and meaning arise out of life situations, then practice period may follow to fix these skills which are felt by the learner to be important steps in the achieving of his goals.

¹ National Council of Teachers of English, *An Experience Curriculum in English*, by W. Wilbur Hatfield and others (D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1935).

For many years this functional approach to the learning of skills has been the practice of agriculture, home economics, and industrial arts. The farm project is typically a pattern in which skills are not learned apart from the setting in which the skill plays a rôle. The project requires a very carefully kept set of accounts in order that the cost in relation to profit may be studied. The arithmetic involved in such accounts is highly motivated, and the learner sees the relationships between accuracy and the goal he sets for himself. Practice on figures under these circumstances is more effective than would be practice on identical materials in a situation where the learner had no intrinsic interest or stake in the outcome of the particular learning other than to please a teacher or attain a passing mark.

Not only national societies but likewise city, county, and state school systems are attempting to provide more functional learning of the skills. In Oklahoma City certain elementary schools are designated as curriculum centers to work out courses of study in specific subject-matter areas. The Culbertson School was selected for intensive work in arithmetic. This staff prepared for use in the city school a large volume of specific suggestions for the enrichment of arithmetic.¹ In a similar manner other school faculties are concentrating on other areas of the skills.

The elementary schools of Pasadena have organized the skills into two categories. first, the skills that are related to the large integrative units of work, and second, those skills in addition to those growing out of the units of work.² For illustration, in connection with the fifth-grade unit on transportation, one section of the volume deals with the possible reading, oral expression, written expression, arithmetic, and

¹ Oklahoma City Public Schools, *Revised Course of Study in Arithmetic, Elementary School*, 1937

² Pasadena, California, *Suggestions to Teachers in Guiding Pupil Experiences*, City Schools of Pasadena, 1936

derstanding we have confronted life as it is lived today in our country. To American teachers, whether in the nursery school or in the adult institute, we say Go and do likewise Guide Americans—children, youth, and grown-ups—in the direct study of our total culture and the trends and factors that produced it. That means, therefore, that if the curriculum-designer expects the life and program of his school to build intelligent participation among our people, it must be designed directly from the conditions and problems of social and personal life. Activities and materials must be developed from the daily living of our young people Not just *any* activities not just *any* materials but those that actually deal with the critical problems and factors of American life The kind of living that is to be lived is of crucial importance Which characteristics of society are deeply sensed, which interests and habits American youth grow up with, are of vast significance Which beliefs they hold to, what ideas they think with, what conclusions they have formed about the world in which they live will really determine whether they are consciously and intelligently to change their civilization in the direction of a fine standard and way of life or whether they are to continue to live stunted and generally inadequate lives.

I. THE TEACHER AND THE IDEA OF ABUNDANCE

AMERICA A DEPRESSED SOCIETY OF POTENTIAL ABUNDANCE AND ACTUAL POVERTY

One concept has focused and motivated our study of American life, namely that *America is now—and promises to be for years next ahead—a depressed society* We have illustrated the fact that although our social order has a giant capacity in material and human resources, the preponderance of it is not being used On the side of human resources, only a little of the talent has even now been discovered and much of what is known is

hamstrung in its effort at creative production. On the side of material resources, instead of wise development, we have nationwide waste, selfish withholding from use by non-producing absentee owners, and predatory encumbrance for private profit. That fact has been illustrated sufficiently in our book; it can and must be documented fully in the gradually maturing work of children and youth

In the coming offensive for a decent standard of life in America, then, a major step is the harnessing of the educational system to teach the fact of potential plenty. Today, two-thirds of our people know "in their bones" from sad personal experience that they are getting a niggardly living out of the riches of the North American continent. But very few are aware that every family, not merely the few in the higher income brackets, could have a fine living if they would do something vigorous and intelligent about it. Unless our people really know in their bones, with facts and figures at their command, that every family in America can have a comfort standard of living by finding a way to operate the existing American social system efficiently as it stands—they will do nothing about it. They will continue to live as a depressed society. But if enough of them *know* it, believe it with their hearts as well as their heads, they will turn the present potentiality into actual fact.

One of our primary obligations as educators is clear then—*teach the fact of potential plenty from the cradle to the grave.* Dramatize it in the daily give and take of pupils and teachers, in thrilling libraries of books, in the cinema and in other works of the theater, over the radio. Document it with validated facts—statistical and personal . . . contemporaneous and historical. Discuss it in the daily open forum by vigorous exchange of ideas and by digging to the rock-bottom facts that support it. Portray it in poetry and song, painting and sculpture. In every medium of creative expression build belief in plenty based on richly documented knowledge.

And with it let us build the confident attitude that such a régime of plenty can actually be created. Build confidence in the capacity of our people for cooperative reconstruction of American life. In doing so, let us not close our eyes to the difficulties involved in such a novel social undertaking. The senior-high-school program, for example, will be founded on a deeply rooted and broadly conceived study of the characteristics of the new epoch into which we are swiftly moving. Confidence of success in the necessary social reconstruction can be engendered best only if our youth confront frankly the obstacles in the way as well as the fact of vast creative resources in our people. As our studies have shown, the Americans have revealed an enormous creative talent. There is not the slightest reason for believing that their imaginative genius will succeed less well at tasks of social invention than it has in economic invention. This conviction can be bred in the psychology of American youth if our educational leaders will only believe it firmly themselves and put their convictions into a corresponding program of educational reconstruction.

Thus widens before us the vista of the power for constructive social change that now resides in the persons of a few ten thousand teachers in this country! Especially in that smaller body of leaders whom we have called curriculum-designers—those who stand in the most strategic position to develop the life and program of the new school. If they will it so, and work astutely in concert and in cooperation with the more intelligent citizens in the community, the first great step can be taken toward building a civilization of economic abundance on this continent.

CONTINUOUS STUDY BY PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND YOUTH

But whatever is done must be done in the American way. In the long run, American parents will not permit the program of

their schools to teach what they—the parents—do not believe. Thus the reconstruction of the life and program of the school begins with adult study and will flourish only as the intelligent understanding and cooperation of the parents advances.

This means young and old Americans, parents and children *studying The American Problem together* to find cooperative solutions to it. A prior task for the curriculum-designers in schools, communities, and states is to build a program of adult study.

II THE TEACHER AND THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY

The promise of success in winning the war to abolish poverty would be greater if we were free to devote all our energies to it. But the fact presses in upon us with increasing insistence every month that we shall have to fight the domestic battle with part of our resources while another part must be used to combat the alien invaders which are encircling us on every world front. We mean those governments of Hitler in Germany, of Mussolini in Italy, of the War Party in Japan—to name only three—and that way of life now current in those countries which is popularly called fascism.

THE MENACE OF FASCISM

With apparent suddenness, since the World War, our favored democratic way of life has been attacked on every continent by what appears to be a new and powerful enemy. The novelty is more apparent than real for most of the features of fascism are not at all new. For example, the form of government it has assumed is certainly not new, it is as old as recorded history itself—the ancient rule of Might in the person of a Dictator. Every fascist government today is an absolute government of One Man or of a Few Men—whether

it be called monarchic, oligarchic, imperial, or fascist, and whether the ruler be called Duke . . . King . . . Emperor . . . Fuehrer . . . or Duce. Thus in form of government it is the very opposite of our treasured democratic way—that is, government by the intelligence of Many Men.

In its method as well as in structure of government fascism is not new. In Germany, Italy, Japan, and elsewhere it reinstates the rule of force that governed peoples generally until our modern epoch. In all fascist regions the central idea of governing is self-consciously asserted as *might-makes-right*. Consider, as a single example, the situation in Germany. A vast Pan-German literature¹—some of it more than a century old—reveals the dangerous nature of the enemy we have to meet. Note by a few examples how the Pan-German (or world fascist) philosophy combats the American democratic outlook.

Perhaps never before has there been such a fanatically self-conscious ideology of government by "the one-chosen-people." So firmly do Pan-Germans believe in their world destiny that they refer to themselves as "The People!" the only peace their philosophy will tolerate in the world is "a German peace imposed by force." Fichte wrote a century ago "Between States, there is neither law nor right save the law of the strongest." Hitler and a large company of Pan-Germans (and the Italians and others would do so if they possessed the traditional ideological interests and background of the Germans) have been affirming the same philosophy in our own generation. For more than a hundred years, in a straight line of intellectual and literary descent from Herder, Schiller, Fichte, Hegel, Schlegel, List, Lange, Treitschke, Nietzsche, and the renegade Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain to the Nazi literary

¹ Perhaps the best secondary introductions are such well documented accounts as Yonel Kolnar, *The War Against the West*, Henry Wickham Stead, *Hitler, Where and What?* and *The Meaning of Hitlerism and Vital Peace, A Study of Risks*, Edgar Mowrer, *Germany Puts the Clock Back*. If only one book can be bought, buy Kolnar.

bureau today the theory has been built and passed on that the German people is the one people, "metaphysically predestined, which has the moral right to fulfill its destiny by every means of cunning and force." From Hegel to Clausewitz, Ludendorff, Hitler, Goering and Company, German metaphysics has rationalized German imperial policy and made a religion out of war. To cite a single instance, witness Ludendorff (of World War and Munich-Beer-Hall-Putsch fame) extolling war as the supreme object of national life and enterprise that could be properly directed and motivated only by the "German knowledge of a German God." Once more, in a revived Germany, these century-old metaphysical roots are sending forth fresh shoots to proclaim the new birth of Germanic power. It is a new and insidiously clever phrasing of the Pan-German ideology of conquest of the world by force *because it is right*. While destroying churches the Nazis recite "Hitler has received his authority from God. Therefore he is a champion, sent by God, of German Right in the world."

In one respect, however, fascism is new, namely in its sudden accretion of strength, its new integrated ideological literature, and in its current bid for world power. It is actually becoming a menace both as a potential enemy on all our world frontiers and as an insidious intriguing propagandist against democracy within our borders.

ITS BID FOR WORLD POWER

Democratic peoples everywhere have had startling warning of grave danger by the astounding success of German imperialism under the Hitler Pan-Germans since 1933. In less than six years a defeated and demoralized Germany has been awakened, given confidence, rearmed, and launched on a campaign of world conquest. Since March, 1935, the German government has defiantly scrapped the Versailles treaty, built

a powerful army and navy, remilitarized the Rhineland, absorbed the Saar, sent military aid to the fascist rebels in Spain, taken Austria, dismembered Czechoslovakia and made her an economic and political dependency of Germany, broken up the Little Entente and brought the Danubian countries within the German orbit. This astounding program has been carried out in less than four years *with the acquiescence*, if not with the connivance ¹ of the Tory government of Great Britain. During the same short period evidence has mounted that while Germany has regained her status as a first-rank power France has swiftly fallen back into second rank.

OUR BATTLE VS. "MEIN KAMPF"

DEMOCRATIC INTELLIGENCE VS. DICTATORIAL FORCE

The study of current history establishes beyond doubt that the focus of world developments today lies in the twofold imperialism of Great Britain and Germany. Americans, concerned with staggering domestic problems of unemployment and economic reconstruction and determined to preserve democracy within their own borders at any cost, confront the probability of a world advance of German imperialism, accepted, even supported, by Britain, so long as it does not overtly thrust at her Empire. The Nazi "time-table" of world conquest (partly outlined in Hitler's autobiographical *Mein Kampf* and recently more fully discussed in the American journals of opinion) announces boldly the definite program of recovery, by force if necessary, of her world colonies, of Eupen-Malmedy from Belgium, of Schleswig from Denmark, the

¹ Whether there really was a war crisis in September 1938, whether the Tory-imperialistic class of Britain has actually given Hitler to understand that he can have his way as long as he does not endanger the British Empire, is still an unsettled issue. There is much evidence to support that conclusion, witness the manner in which the past century and a half of imperialistic history confirms the record of events of the past six years.

Corridor and part of Silesia from Poland, Memel from Lithuania, Alsace from France (1), the Italian Tyrol from Italy (11), and that she will either fight Russia for the Ukraine or make a deal with her and divide Poland between Germany and Russia. If this sounds fantastic to Americans, let them remember that these items are merely the continuation of the six steps already carried through successfully without firing a shot. Let them also remember that Italy has taken Ethiopia, Japan has helped herself to Manchuria and the five northern provinces of China and, as we write, is in the incredible process of setting up a puppet government over most of that country—without a significant move in opposition from Great Britain or France or Russia or, for that matter, from the United States.

*The Struggle for Indo-America*¹

But the program is more than one of Eurasian scope, it is to be a world conquest. As we write an inter-continental campaign of propaganda is being carried on in the twenty Indo-American countries by five major world powers—Japan, Germany, Italy, Britain, and the United States.²

The interpenetration is being carried on by each government along every strategic front—by subsidized trade, by the purchase and development of natural resources, by immigration into the Latin-American countries, by a tetrific bariage of propaganda including hourly radio broadcasts, by regularly scheduled airplane service between Europe and Latin America, by an elaborate system of spies and by propaganda among European emigrants insisting on their loyalty to the homeland

¹ Let us use the term *Indo-America* when thinking of the bulk of the people who, decade by decade, are becoming more "Amerindian", and "Latin-American" when thinking of the wealthier and cultivated "upper-middle" business and social classes

² Teachers should see Carleton Beals, *The Coming Struggle for Latin America* (1938) for the best current account

above any other national allegiance ("Once a German always a German" . . . "race above country").

Perhaps the greatest danger to us is that Latin-America is fertile ground for the development of fascism. For a century most of the governments there have been "dictatorships." Literacy in Indo-America has lagged far behind the level of that of the United States and other "western" nations, and only a tiny fraction of the people have had a real understanding of the economic-political problems of their respective countries.

Indeed, the whole scene in Indo-America is much more favorable to fascism than to democracy. In geography it is nearer by airplane transport and radio communication to western and southern Europe than to the United States or to Great Britain. In racial and regional antecedents its white population is "Latin" and hence close at least to Italian developments. (It is estimated that 35 per cent of the people of Brazil today have some Italian blood.) With the exception of short interludes of liberal rule in a few countries, it has lived under dictatorships for the better part of four centuries. In educated intelligence the bulk of the people lag far behind those of America and other democratic countries. From every standpoint, both Latin Americans (the ruling class) and Indo-Americans constitute a more favorable nourishing ground for Fascist ideas than for democracy.

WILL AMERICA STAND ALONE IN THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY?

Thus the lines of "Our Battle" sharpen clearly. In every skirmish of the past few years democracy has been defeated. The great totalitarian offensive is under way. What we laughed at a few years ago as strutting, screaming comic-opera straw-men have become at this moment the absolute rulers of not less than 400,000,000 "Europeanized" peoples on four con-

tinents. The advance of fascist force and totalitarian theory now constitutes no less than a vast encircling movement around the world, with the very real possibility that America may be left isolated as a lone oasis of democracy on the earth.

Scan the ledger! France is rapidly becoming a nonentity in the struggle. The small democracies of northern and western Europe lack cohesion, man-power, and material resources to give Hitler and Company real resistance. With most of Indo-America helpless and Latin America constitutionally inclined toward the dictation of the so-called upper-classes, there appears to be little help in our immediate American scene.

What about Great Britain and the Dominions of the British Empire? They are the unknown quantity in the present world equation. In mood and general opinion the rank and file of British people everywhere are linked closely to America and the small democracies. In recent years they have given unmistakable evidence that they are for the civil and political liberties established in the 700-year-long march toward democracy. But the stark fact is that the rank and file of British people do not govern the United Kingdom and hence control neither British diplomacy as created at No. 10 Downing Street, nor the British navy and army. The position of the British Tory governments on every advance of fascist nations since 1922 gives little encouragement to the American idea of a world union of the defenders of the democratic faith.

Paraphrasing two historic remarks it is the course of wisdom in such trying times as these to recognize that we are confronting a condition and not a theory and—more than ever before in modern history—eternal vigilance will indeed be the price of liberty!

ARE THERE SEEDS OF INCIPIENT FASCISM IN AMERICA?

One of the gravest dangers is that American culture itself is a potential nourishing ground for fascist ideas and attitudes.

I find in the social soil and climate of our America three seeds of incipient fascism. The chief one is the doctrine to which our people in company with those of all other "civilized" countries subscribe: "*Laissez-faire*" . . . freedom to exploit your neighbor by preëmpting his means of pecuniary support.

In a period of social unrest like ours, one of attack and counter-attack, when seemingly revolutionary proposals for social change are heard on every hand, the question of "whose ox will be gored" becomes of supreme importance. Everyone who fears that his special "ox" may be hurt by some new idea that he does not understand becomes a potential supporter of an American fascist movement. Such Americans—most of them generally well-meaning and potentially decent citizens—are made by this threat to their own security utterly blind to the factors that are actually thrusting themselves into the scene of our overwhelming Great Transition. Faced by an avalanche of economic trend the nature and direction of movement of which is already becoming known, they refuse to confront the actuality of it. They refuse either to relinquish any part of their competence or to try to uproot old concepts and attitudes by rethinking such basic ideas of American democracy as freedom and particularly economic *laissez faire*.

There are other dormant microbes of fascism in the social body. For a century it has carried a tradition of vigilante oppression of all "outlander" groups. Decade after decade, as wave after wave of new immigrants stormed our coastal valleys, the "old families" fought to keep them out, snubbed them, deported them, and—failing that—tortured and feathered them, beat them, jailed them, and rode them out of town on a rail. Thus, the word *fascism* as used currently is really only a new name for the characteristic method of government by the "best people" . . . the leading citizens. It is one that the oligarchic minority in America—the rich, the wise, and the good—have employed since John Winthrop and his company

locked the charter of the colony in their trunk and ruled the freemen of Massachusetts Bay as they saw fit.

Moreover, on the lawless moving frontier for a hundred years, where no vestige of social order had ever existed, this spirit appeared in the guise of extra-legal vigilante committees of citizens. But the attitudes and practices of these extra-legal communities were revived under legally constituted governments. The righteous justice of outraged frontier leaders was used time after time in our history as a cloak for the debauching of the very law and order which they preached.

The fear and hatred of the In-group—the Haves—for the Have-Nots Out-group flared up in a succession of Know-nothing movements over a century of recorded history—against the Irish Catholics of the late 1840's, against the Negroes of the south by the first K.K.K.'s of the late 1860's, against the organized Catholic Church in the A.P.A. terror of the 1890's, and against the Jews, the Catholics and the Negroes in the despicable K.K.K.'ism of the 1920's. In our own time the virus breaks out again in the current red-baiting "Communist" scare. The deadly anti-social germ, always present in the social order, sensing a weakened democratic tissue, attacks again.

Thus in no less than three ways is the way made easy today for the germ of incipient fascism to strike in America: first, by the existence of a rich soil of social anxiety, second, by the presence of a harsh and disrupting exploitive temper, and third, by the residual effect of a vigilante tradition of night-riding against "un-Americans" in our midst.

III THE ORDEAL OF INTEGRITY OF EXPRESSION

We come finally to a brief concluding word about the third great phrase of The American Problem, that is, the task of building integrity of expression in our people. If we appear to

minimize its importance by making it an addendum to the main body of social writing, it is not due to a lack of appreciation of its foundational importance. It is due solely to our conviction that our treasured social arrangements *are* being destroyed before our eyes, hence that we must throw our chief energies into protecting them.

Personally I am convinced that the building of integrity of expression in a large sector of our population is not only the most difficult and most subtle step we can take in educational reconstruction, it is at the same time the most foundational one. Indeed, if every hour of every day in every classroom in America were conducted on the rigorous criterion of integrity of expression, we would thereby guarantee the protection of our unique American brand of democracy. There would be no battle at our gates, no anxiety lest our people be persuaded by the lure of the easy brilliant way of badges and banners, parades and pageants. They would be building adequate resistance in the very positive accretion of intelligence and integrity of expression.

For the criterion of such behavior can be stated in one simple and blunt question: *Have I stated what I really am?* Have I said what *I* see *my* unique way?

On the side of original creativeness, the criterion of integrity of expression asks. Have I stretched my imagination to the limit of its capacity for creation? Have I cut through the superficialities of life to see and state the true characteristics of the organic living creative? Have I eschewed all standard modes, refused to copy the form of any other person's or people's expression? Is my statement based on my own imagined conception?

On the side of technical competence, it asks. Do I really *know* what I am saying? Have I documented my utterance and validated its precise statement? Have I fully considered the probability of error in source and in interpretation? Have I

practised myself in the technical skills that are now known to my art or my science? Have I learned in spirit, in outlook, and in technique, what the masters of integrity of expression past and present have to teach me?

Finally on the side of cumulative total production, the ordeal of integrity of expression asks of Man-as-creator. As this work has progressed, as my life has moved on, have I grown in understanding of and ability to state the organic form of living things?

The criterion and the goal of integrity of expression means all those things. It is as simple as that—and—it is as subtle as that! Can there be any doubt that to produce it in a large body of Americans, in a period of hypocrisy and chicanery and of downright debauchery of human personality will be an ordeal?

A NEW PSYCHOLOGY TO GUIDE EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Fortunately to meet these problems a body of physiological and psychological knowledge is available to educators that, in guiding and reconstructive power, is unexampled in educational history. Our book has shown that a new dynamic organic outlook has been built by the imaginative and competent researches of a growing company of creative people. Already thousands of teachers are being inoculated with it and are making over the life and program of the school. In our book we have noted many heartening examples in public and private schools.

TEN KEY CONCEPTS

Ten great ideas now serve as a solid basis upon which new schools of living can be built.

1. That the living creature is a growing organism evolving,

maturing, from small but "whole" beginnings . . . *the concept of growth.*

2. That each human act is integrative not additive, the organism acting and growing as a whole . . . *the scientific principle of integration*
3. That the delicate highly differentiated living creature, continuously beset by the danger of instability, is equipped with sensitive means of self regulation . . . *the concept of self-balancing.*
4. That the living creature is dynamic, always characterized by active movement, thus learning is reacting, making responses (as likewise is the building of meaning, of intelligence, of skill, what-not) . . . *the concept of dynamic response.*
5. That Man thoughtfully is a generalizing being . . . that central to every response is the perception of the relationships between parts of the whole situation . . . that the meaning of any phase is determined by such relations . . . hence that continuous education in seeing relations, in generalization, in problem-solving is basic . . . *the concept of generalization*
6. That the living creature is primarily a goal-seeking organism, his behavior determined by his purposes, by his attempt to satisfy his needs . . . ends and means are continuous, unified . . . *the concept of purpose.*
7. That by the process of interaction between the individual and his environment the Self is formed, egocentric and defensive, the product of learning . . . *the concept of self and personality.*
8. That the individual learns to adjust to his world by patterns of behavior which have been selected and stereotyped for him by the culture . . . *the concept of the stereotype.*
9. That indispensable technical competence in behavior

(intellectual, social, manual, and other physical skills) is furthered by recurrence of learning situations in which settings are varied and marked by purposive intention to learn . . . *the new concept of habit.*

10. That integrity of expression requires originally imagined conceptions, "clarity of perception (grasp of significant relationships) . . . technically competent objectifying of imagined conceptions . . . *the concept of the creative act.*

"O, TO BE SELF-BALANCED FOR CONTINGENCY"

These are the key concepts of our new outlook. It would be possible to state others, and these here given could be stated in other ways; but these ten are comprehensive enough to serve as the intellectual framework of the organic approach to the problem of educating personality. Perhaps the single most comprehensive one and the one upon which to close our study is the third of them—the idea of a self-balanced personality. The concept itself is as old as is the conscious study of human behavior. Creative peoples throughout history, who have become aware of their critical powers, have been guided by it. The great Greeks certainly were and their contemporaries the Chinese, in making much of the concept of harmony or the golden mean, revealed their wisdom about life. The wise men among the latter saw life as nature and harmony as the order of nature. This is revealed in every aspect of the relations of man and his world—in the harmony of the universe and of the physical life of living beings as well as in the social order of men.

Since their time, more than two thousand years ago, the thinking men of several cultures, including our own Euro-American one, have rediscovered the great idea. As industrial-democratic society has advanced out of its adolescent stage

into one of clarifying maturity both its scientists and its artists have come to understand it. Thus, after three-quarters of a century of organic laboratory research the physiologists' technical term *homeostasis*¹ epitomizes the same idea as the artist-teachers' concept "self-control" and the creative artists' "self-balance." Moreover, the scientific student of society listens attentively to the suggestion of the laboratory physiologist that there may be general principles of self-balance for the stabilization of social orders as well as for the regulation of the life of the individual organism.

No single concept is of greater importance to the curriculum-designer than that of balance. We seek to instate it in every phase of our theory and practice—balance between expression and control . . . between interest and effort, freedom and discipline, pupil initiative and teacher initiative. Balance in the total content of the program between the sciences and the arts. The balanced life of the School. The balanced day. Balance, as Randolph Bourne once put it, between "the effort of reason and the adventure of beauty."

This concept of balance implies no averaging of the separate dynamic forces of freedom and control, of imagination and technique. On the contrary, it means the creation of a new conception which rises beyond either one. Thus it substitutes disciplined initiative for license and tyranny. It bases creative production upon rigorous thought. It recognizes that integrity of expression can emerge only from the fusion of freed imagination and rigorous competence.

These concepts, particularly that of self-balance, are the basis for the design for living which the artist-teachers of the new school are striving to create.

¹ Dr. Walter B. Cannon's term, see his excellent book *The Wisdom of the Body* (New York, W. W. Norton and Co.)

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